

**DISCUSSING THE *TALE OF THE HEIKE* IN THE EDO PERIOD:
DIDACTIC COMMENTARIES AS GUIDES TO WISE RULE
FOR WARRIOR-OFFICIALS**

by

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Abstract

In the premodern period, the *Tale of the Heike* (thirteenth century CE) was regarded either as a source for popular entertainment, such as musical and performing arts, or a historical text used for scholarly purposes. Most studies on the *Tale of the Heike*'s reception have focused on the work's literary and artistic side, while scholarly reception has remained neglected. This dissertation explores the use of the *Tale of the Heike* by seventeenth-century scholars of "military studies" (*heigaku* or *hyōgaku*), who compiled treatises and commentaries (*gunsho*) on leadership, statecraft, history, and ethics aimed at domain lords and warrior-officials of different levels. This study focuses on the category of evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*) on medieval texts that combined critical discussion, admonition of rulers, and plausible "secrets" in order to caution against mistakes and explain proper leadership. I argue that the commentary *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* (1650) reinterpreted the courtly and Buddhist content of the *Tale of the Heike* in terms of pragmatic leadership and ethics relevant to warrior-officials of the Edo period (1603-1868), and that this commentarial appropriation brought the *Tale of the Heike* into the sphere of warrior-officials' scholarship and cultivation. The dissertation begins with a detailed overview of the understudied field of military studies in premodern East Asia and Japan. Based on an analysis of primary sources, I then discuss the content and commentarial approaches of evaluative commentary on the *Tale of the Heike*, its readership and circulation, as well as related texts. The study concludes with a comparative analysis which situates the commentary within the Japanese discourse of historical discussion and admonition, and also places it in the category of didactic guides to statecraft that are found in different cultures and are known as "mirrors for princes." This study reveals a new facet of the *Tale of the Heike*'s reception centered on didactic commentarial works influenced by military studies, which constituted an important current in

premodern Japanese intellectual history that shaped perceptions of state, society, leadership, and identity of warrior-officials throughout the Edo period.

Lay Summary

The *Tale of the Heike* (thirteenth century CE) gives a panoramic account of the Genpei conflict (1180-1185 CE) with a focus on the rise and fall of the Heike family. This major medieval work has exerted lasting influence on Japanese arts and culture. In this dissertation I examine several understudied commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* that show how this work was read by warrior-officials, the ruling elite in the Edo period (1603-1868). The commentaries critically evaluate historical figures appearing in the work and function as guides to wise leadership, statecraft, and ethics. I bring attention to scholars of so-called “military studies” who were involved in the production of such commentaries, and who served as teachers and advisors to rulers regarding governance and ethics. This dissertation sheds light on new aspects of premodern Japanese education and scholarship, and reveals how texts were reinterpreted as didactic guides on statecraft.

Preface

This dissertation is the original, unpublished, independent work of the author, Alexey Lushchenko.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The vast corpus of premodern Japanese texts contains many understudied and neglected works that are ideal for exploring intellectual history, education, commentarial literature, and reception of classical texts. The *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語, thirteenth century), one of the pillars of Japanese medieval literature, has attracted scholarly attention that predominantly focused in the twentieth century on its origins, authorship, early variant texts,¹ and propagation by itinerant performers. Recent scholarship shows continuity with this dominant trend, investigating the historical background of the Heike (Taira) family; their economic, religious, political, or literary activities in the late Heian period; and their role as a warrior clan.² Studies of the *Tale of the Heike*'s reception also centre on the medieval period, discussing topics such as patronage of the Ashikaga shoguns, and Heike-related topics in *noh* plays,³ *setsuwa* stories, *waka* poetry, and popular narratives. Research on its Edo-period (1603-1868) reception mainly deals with popular entertainment, such as *kabuki* plays, *jōruri* performances, comic poetry, and illustrated works of historical fiction.

Though the Edo period is mostly known for the outstanding production of texts catering to the tastes of merchants and other literate townsmen, warrior-class elite sponsored, collected, studied, and created a vast corpus of literary and scholarly texts, most of which have not been researched either by literary scholars or historians. I am interested in bringing attention to this group of works that in many cases challenges established frames of literature and history, and

¹ Amy Christine Franks, "Another *Tale of the Heike*: An Examination of the Engyōbon *Heike monogatari*" (PhD thesis, Yale University, 2009).

² *Lovable Losers: The Heike in Action and Memory*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson and Anne Commons (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

³ *Like Clouds or Mists: Studies and Translations of Nō Plays of the Genpei War*, ed. Elizabeth Oyler and Michael Watson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series, 2013).

testifies to the existence of complex networks of scholarship and education that influenced how Edo-period warrior administrators and officials, from daimyo lords to village headmen, viewed the state, social roles, and history.

In previous research, Edo-period commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, as well as texts closely associated with the warrior class in general, have often been neglected. Yet, they merit deeper exploration due to their varied and peculiar content, close relationship to philosophical teachings and ideologies, and prominent role in the education and worldview formation of warrior-officials. In my study, I hope to begin to fill in this research gap and to offer a fresh perspective on the scholarly and didactic literature of the Edo period. I will do this by examining the texts intended for warrior rulers, with a focus on the little-researched didactic commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, and by showing how high-level warriors were taught practical leadership and ethics using the *Tale of the Heike* and similar works.

This dissertation considers the historical and literary importance of the mid-seventeenth century, a time when high demand for didactic and critical texts of all kinds resulted in the production of commentaries containing discussion of historical figures, the causes of the rise and fall of states and families, the principles of government, and the qualities of rulers. These discussions took on a wide range of forms, from woodblock-printed published texts to private lectures and manuscripts transmitted within small groups, and were in some cases based on known earlier texts concerned with history, governance, and ethics.

A prominent place among these commentaries, treatises, and didactic guides is held by so-called evaluative commentaries (*hyōban* 評判) that critically discuss people and events in texts dealing with medieval history. These commentaries are characterized by two types of comments: “evaluation” (*hyō* 評) and “transmission” (*den* 伝). The first type, “evaluation,” is a

discussion of a person or event from the viewpoint of politics, ethics, or military strategy.

Comments of this kind typically contain an elaborate critical discussion presented as advice and a warning to a ruler. The second type, “transmission,” consists of plausible and mostly fictional rumors and supplementary stories that creatively reveal the secret behind-the-scenes information not found in the original work.

At the centre of this dissertation is the *Commentary with Evaluations and Secret Transmissions about the Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* 平家物語評判秘伝抄, 1650) which is well suited for examining the reception history of the *Tale of the Heike* during the transition from the medieval to the Edo period. The commentary belongs to the vast corpus of “military texts” (*gunsho* 軍書), and its content is closely tied to the field of so-called “military studies.”⁴ The creation of this commentary strengthened the association of the *Tale of the Heike* with warrior-class readers, and meant that in addition to being a courtly tale, a Buddhist narrative, and an unofficial popular history, the *Tale of the Heike* came to be treated as a “war chronicle” or “military record” (*gunki* 軍記) and a “military text” worthy of scholarly attention and didactic commentary aimed primarily at warrior rulers.

This commentary and its context cannot be fully understood without an in-depth investigation into military studies as practiced during the Edo period in Japan. Despite its educational and cultural importance throughout the Edo period, the field and its texts have remained neglected in Japanese scholarship and are practically ignored in scholarship outside Japan. Though some texts of ancient Chinese military studies such as Sunzi’s *the Art of War* have gained worldwide fame, military studies treatises created in medieval and early modern

⁴ The Japanese terms *hyōhō* 兵法 (also read as *heihō*), *hyōgaku* 兵学 (also read as *heigaku*), and *gungaku* 軍学 can be translated as “military ways,” “warrior arts,” “warrior learning,” or simply “strategy” in the most general sense.

Japan remain either unknown or understudied.⁵ It should be emphasized, however, that the term “military studies” is quite misleading and the discipline should not be confused with martial arts nor with battlefield strategy, both of which it greatly exceeds in subject matter and overall scope. Military studies constituted scholarship for members of the warrior class, and many of them held bureaucratic posts functioning as civil officials. This scholarship can be briefly described as an eclectic mix of teachings about governance and leadership—in times of both peace and crisis—that is based on politics, history, moral philosophy, religious concepts, military strategy, and commonsense practical wisdom. With five major types or “schools” and dozens of minor ones spread across all domains of Japan, military studies were organized in transmission lineages with masters and disciples, multi-level curricula, and an extensive body of texts read and studied in lecture settings by warrior-class officials of different levels throughout the Edo period.⁶ This vast and diverse set of texts is a product of competing and even opposite views and continuous debates about governance and ethics.

In the following chapters, I attempt to show how medieval texts such as the *Tale of the Heike* were reinterpreted in the early Edo period and used as a basis for didactic commentaries and treatises on leadership. I first describe the military studies as the cultural, intellectual, and educational frame, and then examine content, circulation, and readership of specific *Tale of the*

⁵ Recent scholarship gives more attention to this topic. See Wakao Masaki, “Ideological Construction and Books in Early Modern Japan—Political Sense, Cosmology, and World Views,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 46-69. German intellectual historian Julian Braun has recently published a book based on his doctoral dissertation of 2006, about the philosophy and ethics of Japanese martial arts and military studies of the Edo period, in which he discusses their religious, political, and military aspects, various schools and concepts, and also provides a translation of three treatises of the mid-seventeenth century. Primary texts discussed in this study are, however, mostly related to martial arts. See Julian Braun, *Bunbu-ryōdō: Philosophie und Ethik japanischer Kriegskunst der Tokugawa-Zeit (1603-1868)* (Frankfurt: Angkor Verlag, 2016). His dissertation (the University of Tübingen, 2006) is available online: <https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/handle/10900/46271>.

⁶ A good estimate of the enormity of the corpus is given by the project undertaken in the 1930s to compile a thirty-volume compendium. This was abandoned, and a seven-volume set of selected texts was published in 1967. See *Nihon heihō zenshū*, ed. Ishioka Hisao (Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1967).

Heike commentaries and related texts. In the final chapters I situate these commentaries within the Japanese tradition of criticism and admonition, and also compare them to treatises functioning in similar ways in other cultures. Analysis of larger context and specific texts reveals a new facet of the reception history of the *Tale of the Heike* that involves scholarship and discussion of state matters, rather than popular performing arts and leisure.

1.1 Literature Review

Over the last several decades, many scholars outside Japan have examined the reception history of premodern Japanese classics with detailed attention to commentaries, reading practices, and issues of reinterpretation and appropriation. My dissertation is inspired by studies on the *Tales of Ise* by Richard Bowring, Susan Klein, Joshua Mostow, and Jamie Newhard, and studies on the *Tale of Genji* by Haruo Shirane, Lewis Cook, James McMullen, and Michael Emmerich. Following the trend of this scholarship, my research looks into issues surrounding the reception of the *Tale of the Heike* in the late medieval and early modern periods. Unlike recognized literary classics of the Heian period, medieval texts such as the *Tale of the Heike* or the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (*Chronicle of Great Peace*, late fourteenth century) have not been the focus of reception studies and I hope my research will bring attention to the ways in which medieval texts were reinterpreted and used in the late medieval and early modern periods.

This dissertation relies on earlier studies and confirms some of the findings of scholars who examined the *Tale of the Heike*. For example, literary scholar Barbara Ruch concisely describes the changes in the perception of the work as follows:

The very popularity of Kakuichi's *Heike* as a musical art meant that during the middle ages it lay outside the normal purview of elite scholars, whose interests centered on written canon designed for reading and poetic study. Only after the *Heike* was published during the Edo period as history to be read was it considered an appropriate subject of

scholarly examination. And not until the twentieth century was it treated as literature, the only masterwork of classical literature to have been ignored academically so long and to have been accepted as a masterpiece so late.⁷

David Bialock also mentions that “[p]rior to [the mid-Meiji period] *The Tale of the Heike*, when discussed at all, was treated as a historical narrative.”⁸ My research on several Edo-period commentaries shows that the *Tale of the Heike* was not only read as history, but also discussed, and I specify that scholars, many of whom were involved in or influenced by military studies, were interested in using this work of history to create didactic treatises on leadership for warrior rulers. As for the genre of the *Tale of the Heike*, Barbara Ruch states as follows:

Though tradition assigns the *Heike* to the genre of war tales, the work is so far superior in conception, scope, and quality to all others in that category that it is better thought of as a unique work. Nor should it be described, as it so often is, as a work representative of or belonging to the warrior classes. ...Labeled as a war tale, described as a story of the rise and fall of men, it is fundamentally a tale about women.⁹

David Bialock also points out that the *Tale of the Heike*

...is not easily classified in terms of genre..., it has been typically assigned to the *gunki* [military chronicle] genre, which is sometimes expanded to *gunki monogatari* (literally, military chronicle tale), hinting at the hybridized nature of a form that combines elements of the *ikusagatari* (battle tale), *ki* (chronicle), and *monogatari* (vernacular court tale). However, as this clumsy compound suggests, there are problems with attempting to slot the *Heike* into one or another genre.¹⁰

The *Tale of the Heike* itself is a patchwork of different types of courtly and Buddhist writings.

Although it contains many stories about warriors, it is indeed not a text by or for warriors. One of

⁷ Barbara Ruch, “The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 3: Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 532.

For more details about the *Tale of the Heike* as a musical art, see Alison McQueen Tokita, *Japanese Singers of Tales: Ten Centuries of Performed Narrative* (Farnham, England and Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2015).

⁸ David T. Bialock, “Nation and Epic: The *Tale of the Heike* as Modern Classic,” in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 154.

⁹ Barbara Ruch, “The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan,” 533-4.

¹⁰ David T. Bialock, “The Tales of the Heike,” in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, David Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 297.

the claims of my study is that the *Tale of the Heike* became associated with warriors in the late medieval and early Edo periods, and that commentaries such as the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* played a great role in this transformation. In other words, didactic commentaries of this type were needed precisely to fill the gap between the medieval courtly and Buddhist worldview, and the worldview of Edo-period warrior rulers. As a result, the original *Tale of the Heike* together with added commentaries ended up in the category of texts for warrior education.

David Bialock highlights the complexity of the *Tale of the Heike* and its reception history:

[...] it is best to view *The Heike* as a structure of interrelated texts and oral practices, with numerous points of contact with both established and evolving centers of power, and with marginal elements at the fringes of society [...]¹¹

He further mentions that “the existence of competition between rival centres of authority for institutional control of a broadly popular narrative tradition.”¹² The *Tale of the Heike* was not fully appropriated by a single institution or group of people either in the medieval or Edo period. Court nobles, temples, warriors, and commoners participated in its reception in different ways and for different purposes. In my dissertation, I focus on the reading and commentarial discussion of works such as the *Tale of the Heike* by Edo-period warrior-officials of different levels. However, this was only one of many parallel ways in which this work was received in premodern Japan.¹³

¹¹ David T. Bialock, “Nation and Epic: The *Tale of the Heike* as Modern Classic,” 165.

¹² Ibid., 166.

¹³ David Bialock mentions that recent scholarship on the *Tale of the Heike* looks beyond “the constraining category of warrior literature – largely a modern construct...” David T. Bialock, “The Tales of the Heike,” in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, 304. I agree that the *Tale of the Heike* should not be treated only as warrior literature, but I also believe that this aspect should not be downplayed. Commentaries discussed in this dissertation show that warrior-officials studied and discussed the work as a history and warrior literature since at least the early Edo period.

Literary scholar Konishi Jin'ichi points out that in “war tales” such as the *Tale of the Heike*, battle scenes and war are secondary subjects, and much of the content is about political infighting, tragic love, and waka poetry. Despite several heroic figures and episodes, it is the fate of the unheroic figures that is described in detail and in a highly sympathetic manner. Though Confucian thinking concerned with order in this world is present, Buddhist teaching permeates the content and structure of the entire work. Konishi emphasizes the role of public Buddhist services, during which preachers mixed didactic sermons with illustrative anecdotes, in the formation of the work.¹⁴ The *Tale of the Heike*, thus, can be considered a didactic text discussing topics such as state politics and order and disorder, as well as human fates and emotions, from the Buddhist perspective. In this study I show that the Edo-period didactic commentary *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* reinterprets the *Tale of the Heike* and discusses a similar set of political and ethical issues from the perspective of wise leadership of state. That is, the commentary seeks to approach state matters and ethical issues from a position not dominated by a Buddhist worldview, and shifts the focus from fate and impermanence to wise actions, analysis and prevention of mistakes, and maintenance of order in state and society. Whereas the Buddhist doctrine of karmic retribution teaches that wrong actions are punished in the future, and the *Tale of the Heike* describes many events from this position lamenting suffering and impermanence, the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary shifts the focus to an analysis of causes of rise and fall, and prophylaxis of trouble by wise leadership. In short, the *Heike* and many other characters are no longer lamented, but evaluated as negative examples for all rulers.

Japanese scholarship on the topic of this dissertation is not very extensive; however, since the 1990s, a wave of scholarly interest has arisen in Japan resulting in a number of

¹⁴ Konishi Jin'ichi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans. Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele, Volume 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 331-45.

interdisciplinary studies that bridge literature, history and intellectual history; introduce texts related to warrior class; and reconsider their importance in shaping medieval and early modern perceptions of state, education, identity and social roles. The main foundation of my research is the work of pioneering scholars Ishioka Hisao and Arima Seiho in the 1960s and 1970s, and more recent research by literary scholars Hyōdō Hiromi, Imai Shōnosuke, Inoue Yasushi, Maeda Tsutomu, Ōtsu Yūichi, Saeki Shin'ichi, and Wakao Masaki, since the 1990s. Investigation of Edo-period military studies, *gunsho* texts, and *hyōban* commentaries is a work-in-progress in Japan, with many case studies and claims that are still hypothetical and not yet part of mainstream literary and historical scholarship. The scarcity of earlier studies, dispersion of primary sources in archives and collections across Japan, and lack of annotated modern editions of manuscripts are some of the factors complicating research and postponing generalizations and analyses that take into account the entire corpus of texts as well as their socio-historical context. My hope is that this dissertation will introduce some works from existing Japanese scholarship to audiences outside Japan and will contribute in some limited way to the ongoing development of this complex field of research.

Discussion of Edo-period military studies, that is, scholarship by and for members of the class of warrior-officials, and didactic reinterpretation of the *Tale of the Heike* by means of evaluative commentary (*hyōban*), fits well with several trends in current literary studies. This dissertation adopts a New Historicist approach by bringing into focus works that remain outside the narrow canon created by modern scholarship, such as commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*. I examine them in their historical and intellectual context and emphasize their importance as texts spanning literature and history. I explore *gunsho* texts and didactic commentarial works of the seventeenth century by combining both “distant reading” and “close reading” approaches,

and attempt to raise awareness about these texts and their place among premodern Japanese texts. Furthermore, studying reception of the *Tale of the Heike* and its commentaries involves analysis of genres. Following current trends in research on genre, such as close attention to diachronic changes in genre categories, genre hybridity and continuity, and genre awareness of a work's author, publisher, and readers, I not only examine features and content of the commentaries, but also trace in detail their circulation, readership, and reputation throughout the Edo period, drawing on evidence from book catalogues, indexes, and critical texts. In general, the study of reception history of premodern Japanese texts has centred on Heian-period literary classics, but this dissertation focuses on a medieval text. My examination of its seventeenth-century use for the creation of a didactic commentary on leadership and wise rule will hopefully contribute to the growing body of scholarship on Japanese didactic literature.

1.2 Chapter Outline

The chapters of this dissertation address the seventeenth-century didactic *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary and related texts as part of the activities of Edo-period military studies scholars who were involved in the transformation of medieval texts such as the *Tale of the Heike*. I focus in particular on (1) the socio-historical and intellectual context of their work, (2) approaches, features, and content of specific commentaries and their circulation, and (3) a comparative analysis of commentaries that situates them within Japanese tradition and similar texts from other parts of the world.

The dissertation begins in Chapter 2 by introducing the texts and concepts of military studies in East Asia with a focus on medieval and early modern Japan. Drawing on scholarship in English and Japanese, I show that this field of knowledge held a prominent place in

premodern Japanese culture and thought, and had close links with education and the production of didactic texts that influenced perception of leadership, ethics, and the overall worldview of warriors who constituted the ruling class, from daimyo lords to village headmen. Of special interest is the transition from the medieval to the Edo period. On the one hand, it was not abrupt, allowing some medieval concepts and practices to continue well into the Edo period, but on the other, it led to the increased production and compilation of new texts and the creation of diverse types of “schools,” or master-disciple transmission lineages with multiple levels of initiation, aimed primarily at daimyo lords and higher-level officials of the bakufu government.

In Chapter 3, I examine the topics of reading, lecturing and group discussion as practiced in the context of interaction between scholars and daimyo patrons. Daimyo salons and the education of retainers and officials form the background for the creation and compilation of “military texts” (*gunsho*), the primary group of texts associated with warrior-officials. Written for the cultivation and maintenance of both the civil and the martial aspects of their education and identity, these texts discuss the causes and signs of the rise and fall of states and families, and teach about decision-making in state and personal affairs with instructive examples drawn from East Asian and Japanese history, including local and family histories. Although “military texts” mixing scholarship and entertainment gradually permeated beyond readers from scholarly and warrior elite to lower-level local officials, they challenge a common tendency to view Edo-period texts as fundamentally popular, intended for anyone with a basic level of literacy. I also suggest a link between *gunsho* commentaries and group discussions (*kaidoku* 会読) that relativize the oft-mentioned strict censorship by Edo-period authorities, and the absence of discussions until the Meiji period. Evidence shows that discussions were an integral part of the education process in various scholarly fields and settings, including domain schools for warrior-

class youths in which the discussion of historical and other texts was a way to train thinking about state matters and to develop the practical skills necessary for policy discussion, negotiation and advising.

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at the evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*) of the seventeenth century, a subtype of *gunsho* texts, and considers their commentarial features and approaches to medieval texts such as the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike*. I offer an overview of Edo-period commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, most of which are explanatory commentaries, highlighting one pair of *hyōban*-style evaluative commentaries to explore the didactic reinterpretation of this text for an audience of warrior elite. The commentaries reflect the thinking of the “era of criticism” in the mid-seventeenth century and creatively use the content of the *Tale of the Heike* as a springboard for developing a guide for rulers. The chapter ends with a summary of commentarial strategies used to make didactic content convincing, practically useful, curious, and relevant to Edo period readers.

Chapter 5 is devoted to an in-depth analysis of commentarial approaches and the content of *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*. I demonstrate that the authors and compilers of this didactic commentary were concerned with the original *Tale of the Heike* and its depiction of events and actions which mixes criticism, lamentation, and even sympathy for incompetent and weak warriors and rulers. This worldview based on Buddhist principles of impermanence and karmic retribution was appropriate for medieval court circles and Buddhist temples, but was not fully compatible with perceptions of state and leadership held by warrior-officials in the late medieval and early modern periods. This discrepancy motivated the production of this didactic commentary, which evaluates instead of describing, and analyzes mistakes and their prevention instead of lamenting. Using the *Tale of the Heike* as a cautionary tale for rulers, the commentary

explicitly points out faults and mistakes in statesmanship and ethics, contrasting them with proper attitudes and courses of action that lead to the maintenance of an orderly state or family. Authors and compilers were also discontent with the current state of affairs and the behavior of warriors, and their criticism is directed both at the late-Heian characters of the *Tale of the Heike* and indirectly at the warriors and officials of the early Edo period. In general, the *Tale of the Heike* is not treated as a complete, self-sufficient work depicting all aspects of the Genpei conflict, and the commentary reveals or constructs “another *Tale of the Heike*,” with additional details creatively supplied from spurious fictional sources and presented as secret teachings that reinforce didactic points.

In Chapter 6, I gather information from modern research and Edo-period sources in order to understand how *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* was read, and in what contexts it circulated. Limited modern research on the commentary fluctuated between complete neglect and sporadic spikes of interest. I then examine diverse Edo-period sources that mention the commentary, in order to determine the views of scholars and writers on its content, authors, readers, and circumstances of production. I also discuss the sites in which the commentary circulated as a material object, that is, archives, private collections, domain school libraries, and provincial book-lending libraries. Evidence drawn from these materials indicates that the commentary was read and studied not only in the seventeenth century, but throughout the entire Edo period. In addition, these sources suggest that the commentary mostly circulated among warrior-class readers of different levels. This limited circulation of a published woodblock-printed text challenges the common assumption that published texts of the Edo period were read by all literate people as popular literature, and reminds us that having potential access to a text

does not necessarily mean that readers are willing to purchase or spend time reading it, particularly if the text is scholarly or targeted at a narrow readership.

In Chapter 7, I examine premodern Japanese texts with elements of criticism and discussion to argue that *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* and *hyōban*-style commentaries in general are not unusual eccentric works, but a continuation of a long tradition of works that discuss history and admonish rulers. Situating the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary among similar works of the medieval and early modern periods, I demonstrate that its approaches and commentarial techniques were consistent with existing scholarly practice. I focus on the case of the mid-seventeenth-century commentary *Evaluation of the Imperial Mirror* (*Teikanhyō* 帝鑑評), a work that resembles *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* in approach and style. As a text with known background information, the *Teikanhyō* serves as a key for determining an approximate context in which texts such as *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* were produced: a reading discussion circle of prominent warrior-officials led by a daimyo lord concerned with principles of leadership, state and family management, ethics, and self-improvement.

Chapter 8 compares the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary with didactic commentaries and treatises on governance from several parts of the world. My claim is that Japanese texts such as *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* have much in common with texts described as “mirrors for princes” and constitute their Japanese equivalents. Given the worldwide importance of commentaries on governance and the commonality of premodern treatises mixing politics, ethics, and history, I do not suggest any direct influence between Japanese and other textual traditions. Nevertheless, Japanese commentaries of this kind, and contemporary European and Near Eastern “mirrors for princes,” have common subject matter,

commentarial techniques, approaches to history, and purpose. The *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary, which may appear strange to modern readers, was in fact a rather typical didactic text for its time. I suggest that current research on “global medieval studies” should expand its scope beyond Europe and the Near East to include East Asian texts such as those examined in this dissertation.¹⁵

The conclusion summarizes this dissertation, briefly looks at limitations of the study, and considers potential directions for future research. The appendices contain additional details about military studies schools of the Edo period, and annotated translations of selected primary texts that illustrate the order of arguments and the structure of comments that are not always retained in the shorter excerpts presented in Chapter 5.

¹⁵ See *Global Medieval: Mirrors for Princes Reconsidered*, ed. Regula Forster and Negin Yavari (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Richard van Leeuwen, *Narratives of Kingship in Eurasian Empires, 1300-1800* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017); *Prince, Pen, and Sword: Eurasian Perspectives*, ed. Maaike van Berkel and Jeroen Duindam (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018, forthcoming).

David Bialock writes that “it is a propitious time to rethink the *Heike*’s place in the growing field of world literature studies.... [I]t is time for students of the *Heike* to follow [Meiji-period scholars’] lead and join again in discussions about the definitions and meanings of the epic, the novelistic, and other questions of form and reception that are relocating debates about national traditions in the broader landscape of world literature and translation studies. The *Heike* has a lot to offer in these debates.” David T. Bialock, “The Tales of the Heike,” in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, 304-305.

Chapter 2 Context: History and Intellectual History

The main goal of research on the *Tale of the Heike* in the twentieth century was the investigation of its origins, which partly explains why reception history was largely a neglected area. Simply stated, studying readings and interpretations of the *Tale of the Heike* from after the thirteenth to fourteenth century does not contribute anything to clarifying its composition and content. In contrast to numerous studies of the *Tale of the Heike* as a medieval literary work, the shift of focus to its reception history requires attention to new—and sometimes unexpected—fields of knowledge and socio-political contexts in which the *Tale of the Heike* was later read, performed or studied. Such an inquiry goes beyond literary concerns and requires an interdisciplinary approach combining literature, history, and intellectual history.

In this chapter, I examine military studies as part of East Asian and Japanese intellectual history, and discuss their role in the education of warriors and the production of texts in the Edo period. Drawing on Japanese research, I describe the history of this discipline, its goals, and its texts and concepts, taking a closer look at changes and continuities between the medieval and early modern periods. Scholars of military studies were involved in the creation of commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* and similar texts during the Edo period, and this general overview clarifies the historical and intellectual background of the authors, texts and readers discussed in later chapters.

2.1 Military Studies in Premodern China

Before focusing on military studies in Edo-period Japan, it is necessary to provide an overview of the continental East Asian foundation of this field of scholarship, which had continuous influence in Japan since the Nara (710-794 CE) and Heian (794-1185 CE) periods,

and remained relevant throughout the premodern period. I demonstrate that despite its name, the scope of this field is wider than military matters and extends to issues of leadership, governance, laws, and ethics. Edo-period Japanese writers involved in the creation of treatises for rulers relied on earlier classics, from which they quoted and discussed content. For example, the commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* that are examined in later chapters essentially reinterpret the work through the lens of East Asian and Japanese military studies.

Nowadays, the set of Chinese military classics is commonly represented by a single text, the widely translated and often reprinted the *Art of War* by ancient the Chinese strategist and philosopher Sunzi or Sun Tzu 孫子 (sixth century BCE). One of the reasons for its modern popularity is its proximity to the modern perception of military studies centred on battles. Not being a text concerned with the politics, reasons, or justifications for a conflict, it deals primarily with the preparations and conduct of war from the perspective of a commander. This is not, however, the only or even the typical content of the other six texts comprising the *Seven Military Classics*, not to mention the hundreds of other texts that were classified as military studies in premodern China. The *Seven Military Classics* (Ch. *Wujing qishu*, J. *Bukei shichisho* 武經七書), compiled by order of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1048-85 CE) in 1080 in Northern Song (960-1127 CE), were to be used as textbooks for military officials and as preparation materials for imperial examinations for military posts. The seven texts were selected from more than 340 ancient texts circulating at that time, and were printed.¹⁶

The earliest and likely the most accurate extant source showing the overwhelming variety of “military schools” (Ch. *bingjia*, J. *heika* 兵家) in the Spring and Autumn (722-481 BCE) and Warring States (403-221 BCE) periods, is the section with “military texts” (Ch. *bingshu*, J.

¹⁶ The earliest extant printed version is a later Southern Song (1127-1279 CE) edition.

heisho 兵書) in the *Hanshu* 漢書 bibliography, *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志. The schools and their works are classified by content into four sets:

- 1) Military Plans and Balance of Power (Ch. *quanmoujia* 權謀家) – 13 schools, 259 works
- 2) Military Shape (or Disposition) and Advantage Conveyed by Strategic Deployment of Force (Ch. *xingshijia* 形勢家) – 11 schools, 92 works, 18 volumes of charts
- 3) Yin-yang (Ch. *yinyangjia* 陰陽家) – 16 schools, 249 works, 10 volumes of charts
- 4) Military Techniques and Crafts (Ch. *jiqiaojia* 技巧家) – 13 schools, 199 works¹⁷

The first set focuses on planning in advance and winning by schemes: the famous *Sunzi's Art of War* (Ch. *Sunzi*, J. *Sonshi* 孫子) and *Wuzi* (Ch. *Wuzi*, J. *Goshi* 吳子) are in this set. This category also has comprehensive character, as it includes elements from the other three sets given above. The second set gives priority to the effective use of natural and geographical conditions, and winning by swift manoeuvres and rapid changes. The third set links military success with divination by day, time, direction of heavenly bodies, the principles of five elements, and the help of magic, fierce deities and demons. The fourth set stresses the importance of physical training, drills and the handling of weapons.¹⁸ Among these four types of schools, the texts of sets 2 to 4 have been mostly lost and not much is known about their content and ideas. The core of what came to be known as Chinese military studies is made up of texts belonging to set 1.

The intellectual historian Yuasa Kunihiro views the texts in sets 1 and 3 as being on opposite ends of an ideological spectrum: the texts of set 1, represented by Sunzi, emphasize

¹⁷ English translations taken from Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 462.

¹⁸ Yuasa Kunihiro, “Chūgoku no heisho,” in *Nitchūkan no bushōden*, eds. Inoue Yasushi, Nagao Naoshige, Jon Byonsoru (Bensei Shuppan, 2014), 132.

human intellect, ability and effort as the main decisive factors that determine victory or defeat, while those in set 3 rely on various divinations positing fortune or fate as the decisive force upon which the outcome depends.

Some aspects of divination and its practical application were revealed by unearthed texts. For example, one of the Dunhuang texts excavated in the early twentieth century, the *Text on Divination by Clouds and Vital Energy* (Ch. *Zhanyunqishu* 占雲氣書), appears to be a manual on a type of divination that relied on the shape and color of clouds, depicted in different arrays over an enemy camp. Another example, a Han dynasty text *Gailu* 蓋廬 excavated in China in 1980, is a military yin-yang text written on bamboo strips that explains success and failure as determined by the five elements (Ch. *wuxing*, J. *gogyō* 五行) and by correspondence to the “time of Heaven.”¹⁹ The defining quality of such texts is their approach to battles and war as being activities beyond human wisdom or control, and thus require divination to ascertain the will or conditions of Heaven and other supernatural forces. Despite the eventual dominance of teachings based on planning and human effort (set 1), it is wrong to imagine that divination-based military studies (set 3) suddenly disappeared in remote antiquity. In fact, this type of approach to battles survived for a very long time and retained its influence in later periods up to modern times. Thus, in premodern culture in East Asia, the more ancient tradition of divination-based military studies (set 3) coexisted with a later tradition based on planning and strategic schemes and deceptions (set 1).

During the Shang-Yin era (1766-1045 BCE), war was seen as a way to serve ancestors. Heavenly ancestors were asked by means of systematic divination on tortoise shells about the weather, harvests, battle outcomes, etc. Under the Zhou (1045-256 BCE), Heaven (Mandate of

¹⁹ Ibid., 133.

Heaven) was positioned as the top authority that determined who would rule. Still, all other questions and issues continued to be solved by ancestors, whose cult remained central in the Zhou worldview. Rituals before battle included divination on success in the ancestors' temple. After the battle, trophies were placed on altars to be offered to ancestors, and feats in honour of ancestors were reported. During the Spring and Autumn period (722-481 BCE), war came to be viewed as a pre-planned and calculated campaign with a result that was forecast in advance. Wars were conducted as rituals or ceremonies regulated by defined rules. They were considered a competition or demonstration of bravery, honour and force, and as a way to accumulate virtue and reinforce the ancestors' cult. Divination continued to be practiced before battles, however it now held a different meaning. As seen in the *Shujing* 書經 (*Book of Documents*, fourth century BCE to fourth century CE), the ruler not only interpreted the result, but consulted with a group of experts (as well as retainers, taking into account people in general). During the Warring States era (403-221 BCE), the ancestor cult ceased to be the determining factor in politics and war. Theoretical studies on war and its connection to economics, politics and society were in demand, as mass infantry armies deemed the entire population of a state to be equivalent to an army. During war or crisis, a general had full control of the state. In this period, as seen in *Sunzi's Art of War*, "divination" also evolved into calculation or planning in the ancestors' temple (Ch. *miaosuan* 廟算), during which military and political plans were discussed without actual divination.²⁰ As this discussion indicates, East Asian military studies from their origins in

²⁰ One of the central controversies around military studies throughout history was the issue of morality vs. deception. Unlike the wars of the Spring and Autumn era when ethical norms of honourable conduct of battle (battles were fought as multiple duels between nobles) prevailed over elements of deception, the aim of Warring States conflicts shifted more to practical gain not limited by moral norms. Deception and trickery came to be widely employed. The polar opposition between morality (on which a state had to be built) and military techniques (often based on deception of one's enemy) was an acute ideological problem that increased tension between military and civil spheres (and between a general and a ruler). Overall, thinkers proposed two solutions: 1) This was the view of most military thinkers and Daoists. Military affairs were to be treated as a separate sphere, independent from the civil one,

ancient China were a diverse field of knowledge rooted in contemporary intellectual and cultural trends such as divination.

2.2 The Seven Military Classics

In this section, I provide an overview of the context and eclectic content of the seven ancient treatises that, since their compilation as a set in the eleventh century CE, became canonical texts and the foundation of all military studies in East Asia. Japanese medieval and early modern scholarship was also deeply influenced by these classic works. These texts remind us that the concept of military studies in East Asia includes philosophy and social science regarding leadership, war and peace, order and disorder, strategy and tactics, management, training and education of troops, economics, and other issues of statecraft. Being of such a wide scope, the body of theory was not separate from state administration, overall management or other civil spheres.

Ancient Chinese military theory was developed in the Zhou period, which was largely characterized by struggles over hegemony between feudal lords, especially by the time of the Spring and Autumn period. Up to and during the Spring and Autumn period, battles were fought by nobles on chariots with support from infantry. Such battles consisted mainly of individual chariot duels between nobles who followed certain codes of ethics. When a general was captured or one side fled, the other was considered the winner. The winning side received goods or land, which enabled peace to be established. As all states had similar military systems and similar

having its own rules and morality (deception of opponent, cunning maneuvers, etc.), rituals, clothing, and power. A general, however, remained a ruler's competitor. This view was close to the real practice of the Warring States era, when a ruler transferred full power to a general for the duration of a campaign. 2) This was the view of Confucian scholars and Legalists aimed at ensuring absolute power of the ruler. Any separation of the military sphere from the state was seen as unnecessary and harmful. The support of the people made for little need of special military techniques. *Encyclopedia of Chinese Culture, vol. 5: Science, technology and military science, medicine and education*, ed. Mikhail Titarenko et al. (Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2009), 633.

resources, battles were decided by the skills of the charioteers.²¹ Toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period, much of the original feudal nobility ceased to exist, while old concepts of ethics were outmoded, and greater numbers of peasants were employed as infantry forces.²² The southern state of Wu (585-473 BCE) came to rely on infantry for fighting on difficult terrain. Wu also gave weapons to commoners (unlike the Zhou nobles' monopoly over weapons, and their emphasis on honourable fighting) and rewarded military deeds with ranks and titles.²³ Threatened by frequent wars, even powerful states had to prepare defences and train armies. Individuals proficient in military arts were sought and rewarded with positions and ranks, resulting in social mobility when the capable and brave displaced nobility in government bureaucracies.²⁴

In the Warring States period, feudal lords evolved into despotic monarchs who had to develop economic and political bureaucracies, expand agriculture to increase food reserves, and promote trade and commerce. Military campaigns increased in scope, duration, and size, thus requiring long preparation and complex management of resources. Trained and skilled officers and soldiers composed the core of the army, with regularly trained peasants conscripted as needed.²⁵

This was a time when scholars or philosophers wandered from ruler to ruler offering advice on political, ethical, and military matters. They could be rewarded, exiled or even killed. The competing scholars of this era and their schools are referred to as “Various Teachers and

²¹ Owada Yasutsune, *Heihō: Kachinokoru tame no senryaku to senjutsu* (Shinkigensha, 2011), 9.

²² Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 9.

²³ Owada Yasutsune, *Heihō*, 9.

²⁴ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

Hundred Schools of Thought” (Ch. *zhuzi baijia*, J. *shoshi hyakka* 諸子百家).²⁶ During this period, numerous military texts and theories developed, and there were professional officers who specialized in military affairs. In the Warring States period, during the competition and struggle for unification, old nobility were replaced by a class of officials (Ch. *shi*, J. *shi* 士). They were members of impoverished branches of noble families who served in return for salary or income from land, and peasants or common warriors who climbed the social ladder through merit, including military deeds and service.²⁷ They comprised the administrative-bureaucratic system of the government, and formed a professional class of officers. Commanders’ qualifications and responsibilities also changed during this period: in earlier stages, the ideal commander was normally an effective civilian administrator, but toward the end of the period the civilian realm was largely separate from warfare.²⁸ The Warring States was also characterized by extensive projects of feudal lords to construct walls, forts and towers throughout the territory. As industry, trade and population flourished, fortified cities grew in significance and became focal points in the road network.²⁹ Techniques and technologies for the siege and defence of cities and forts developed substantially. Mass infantry armies continued to grow, and cavalry was first introduced in the third century BCE, allowing armies to be deployed in valleys, forests, hills, and mountains. The roughly two hundred small states that existed at the beginning of the period became twenty, and then seven, as smaller states were taken over by stronger ones. The period ended with full unification by the Qin state in 221 BCE.

²⁶ Owada Yasutsune, *Heihō*, 11.

²⁷ *Encyclopedia of Chinese Spiritual Culture*, vol. 5, 627.

²⁸ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

As noted by the scholar in Chinese military history Ralph Sawyer, military works were not normally permitted to be held privately and their possession could even be construed as evidence of conspiracy. As for their transmission, “almost all these teachings were at first transmitted down through the generations, often orally and always secretly.”³⁰ Later recorded and gathered by officials for state use and stored in imperial libraries, they were accessible to a few professors of the classics, a restricted number of high officials, and the emperor himself. Even after the works were recorded on bamboo, silk or eventually paper (after the Han dynasty), they were mostly kept secret as evidenced by legends surrounding the storage of rare copies and limited access granted to select individuals.³¹

The *Seven Military Classics*, like many premodern texts in general, have an obscure history of authorship and transmission. Their dates of production are approximate, their creation was often associated with famous figures of the past, and they were likely modified and edited or recompiled over the centuries. And yet, this often doubtful history of authorship and transmission is counterbalanced by a long history of these texts being valued and used for study, guidance and education.

³⁰ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 16.

³¹ Similar legends were popular in medieval Japan. As noted by the military historian Shimada Teiichi, in medieval Japan the popularity of *Six Secret Teachings of Taigong Wang* (Ch. *Liu tao*, J. *Rikutō* 六韜) and *Three Strategies of Huang Shigong* (Ch. *San lue*, J. *Sanryaku* 三略) was related to the worship of and faith in presumed authors and transmitters of these texts. These included Taigong Wang 太公望, a Zhou politician and military figure serving King Wu and King Wen of Zhou as a strategist contributing to the victory of the Zhou over the Yin dynasty; and Zhang Liang 張良, a politician and strategist of Western Han who received a military text from the Qin dynasty hermit, Huang Shigong 黃石公 and contributed to the founding of the Han dynasty. Possessing and studying these texts associated with these legendary figures, who helped found the “model” Zhou and Han dynasties, was seen as auspicious, lucky, and effective in strengthening the spirit. In the Muromachi period, these figures were believed to be reincarnations of deities (such as the ancient god of war, Marishiten) or bodhisattvas. Numerous medieval Japanese military texts (based on divination, magic, spells) were attributed to them, had similar titles with the numbers six and three, and were also believed to function as charms that help gain support of spirits and heavenly deities. In the Edo period, the *Six Secret Teachings* and *Three Strategies* gradually lost their mystical qualities, yet were still actively studied. But, works emphasizing strategy, planning, and human effort, such as *Sunzi's Art of War* and *Wuzi*, came to be seen as the most important ones in the set of the *Seven Military Classics*. Shimada Teiichi, “Chūsei ni okeru Rikutō to Sanryaku,” *Nihon rekishi* 272 (1971), 122-126.

For a modern reader, much of these works' content would seem out of place or annoyingly irrelevant in a work entitled "military text." Despite their practical content, these texts are certainly not martial arts instructions, nor are they purely practical battle instructions to be used by all officers and warriors in various situations. Their eclectic ethico-philosophical nature, consistent attention to matters beyond the narrow area of the battlefield itself, and integration of military and civil administration spheres point to their primary use by administrators or rulers combining a wide range of organizational duties.

An additional point to consider is the "pacifist" aspiration and values pervading the ideology of these works. Wars are not presented as the main activity, nor as constant professional work, nor as a situation eagerly awaited and sought after by all warriors. Wars are described in terms of the risk, disorder and chaos (Ch. *luan*, J. *ran* 亂) temporarily caused by misrule and various negative conditions in a state (such as a weak ruler) that were to be fixed and prevented. In this sense, these "military classics" are not books *for* waging war, but rather, textbooks *for not* having to fight a war or, if war is necessary, for minimizing its negative aspects.³² It was believed that for a moral and strong ruler, caring for his people was the basis for the unification of the thought and actions of the society at large, and that and this guaranteed the safety of the state, as no one would dare attack it. Also, as noted by Sawyer, "occupying a thoroughly devastated state was never espoused by any ancient Chinese military thinker."³³ Despite the numerous rampages recorded in historical texts that took place in ancient China, it is significant that they were not assessed as exemplary types of behaviour, virtue, or decision-

³² To make these concepts clearer for modern readers, it would be appropriate perhaps to replace the terms "war" and "warriors" with "disorder, crime" and "police." East Asian military studies are often concerned with the maintenance and quick restoration of order within the empire or state, that is, tasks associated with police in modern states.

³³ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 439.

making. Violence for violence's sake, massive destruction and chaos were to be avoided, and their negative consequences were demonstrated. Thus, the principle of "winning without fighting" came to the fore in military texts. Being a violent ruler or general relying solely on force was considered narrow-minded, simple, foolish, and counterproductive to building long-lasting states. Even if such leaders were numerous in reality, they were not valued highly in the texts as models to emulate. Far more difficult and rare was to find a wise leader with a proper balance of martial and civil abilities, who cared about the well-being of the state and who strove to foster harmony and prosperity. The bar was set very high and one could only hope to approach the ideals of the "Sage rulers" of the past. For the most part, leaders of states were expected to compete not on the battlefield, but rather, in bringing stability to the state, promoting loyalty and support of the people via wise policies, and so on.

It should be remembered that unlike modern nation-states in which all people fight for the state, in the premodern societies of East Asia, warriors' fighting was more closely tied to their attitude and relation to their ruler/leader, along with the loyalty and trust that they placed in him. In cases where the ruler failed to gain the support of his troops, vassals, courtiers, and people in general, warriors could and did refuse to battle, or in other cases fled or left to serve a different ruler. This background explains why "military texts" do not focus only on military manoeuvres and techniques, but devote particular attention to "civil" matters, the employment of people, and social questions.³⁴ This "pacifist" aspiration in no way contradicts the use of violence in some cases (different thinkers proposed different limitations on the use of force, although unchecked force meant only chaotic violence). A wise ruler is not a helpless idealist or moralist, but one who is able to manage both the state and its army, leading it to victory when needed. The point is that a good ruler should not be narrowly preoccupied with a given battle, but should take into

³⁴ Owada Yasutsune, *Heihō*, 8.

account the whole situation, plan for the future, and strive for a long-lasting peace and order that cannot be sustained solely by force and violence. This may seem to be an idealistic view incompatible with “real” politics and conflict, or a view not of “real” warriors but of Confucian scholars and other philosophers. This is partly true in the sense that the “military classics” are permeated by ideas from a number of ethico-philosophical schools and thus complement them, rather than reject them fully. In addition, military thinkers in general were not pursuing the goal of training aggressive and violent tricksters who destroyed and plundered for fame and gain, thereby disrupting the realm and order. The texts were intended as advice for highly-placed rulers, generals and other members of the elite who were interested in keeping the state prosperous and safe without constant coercion and strife.

Let us now briefly review the content and ideology of the *Seven Military Classics*, keeping in mind that they largely represent only one of the four types of military texts given in the *Hanshu* bibliography.

Six Secret Teachings (Ch. *Liu tao*, J. *Rikutō* 六韜) is the only work written from the perspective of replacing or launching a coup d'état against a ruling dynasty (Zhou vs. evil ruler of the Yin dynasty) when a smaller and limited force must struggle with a superior and larger opponent. Due to this quality, the work was criticized and disliked by Confucian scholars. Nevertheless, the text emphasizes people's welfare under a benevolent and modest ruler. Attention is given both to civil (moral government, care for people, clear reward and punishment, and employment of the worthy and talented) and military matters (selection of generals, secrecy, evaluation and action, tactics and weapons, training, deception, and intelligence). Knowledge and organization are emphasized, and astrology and divination are treated as serious matters.

Three Strategies (Ch. *San lue*, J. *Sanryaku* 三略) focuses on government, administration and authority (Ch. *wei*, J. *i* 威) without discussing battle tactics. In terms of ideology, the text is a synthesis of four systems of thought: Confucianism, Legalism, Daoism, and military studies. One of the central ideas is that a moral “sage king” who cultivates virtue and strives to lead by his own example, is capable of nurturing people and attracting worthy people into service, thus coping with overall moral decline over time and not allowing evil cliques to control government offices. Following Daoist views, war is considered inauspicious and evil, and is to be carried out for the preservation of the state. Consistent attention is given to personal qualities and behaviour that have to be taken into account when managing, employing and motivating people. The text is addressed to a ruler, calling on him to resist the decline of society and state. There is a possibility that the author was a wandering advisor to a ruler.

Sunzi's Art of War (Ch. *Sunzi*, J. *Sonshi* 孫子), known for its analytical approach, places emphasis on preliminary planning and preparation. Seeing war as a risky matter that endangers the state, the ideal of “defeating an enemy without fighting” is proposed. Most of the text deals with practical matters faced by a general during a campaign (manipulating, luring, weakening the enemy, employing deception, using secrecy, taking unexpected action, etc.). Interestingly, the text prohibits omens and rumors, thus breaking away from the earlier beliefs of the Zhou era, and yet still accepts the yin-yang and five elements theory.

Wuzi (Ch. *Wuzi*, J. *Goshi* 吳子) stresses the need for good government and military strength, Confucian policies to gain the support of the people, and the training and proper organization of troops. Special emphasis is placed on the selection of talents, evaluation of forces, and motivation (the balance between reward and punishment). A general is required to have both martial and civil abilities. Despite considerable emphasis on human effort, the text

contains advice on divination, suggesting that this phenomenon had practical importance. *Wuzi* recommends performing divination with shells in the ancestral temple to seek Heaven's confirmation before a campaign. Specific conditions are mentioned as to when divination can be omitted.

The Methods of the Sima (Ch. *Sima*fa, J. *Shibahō* 司馬法) is an ancient (ca. fourth century BCE) enigmatic text on military administration, organization and discipline which addresses the ceremonies and rules of the Spring and Autumn era. Although close to Confucian ideas, the text argues for a separation or distinction between civil and martial spheres, as each had its own rules and ways of behaviour. Unlike the Confucian focus on etiquette/propriety (Ch. *li*, J. *rei* 禮), *The Methods of the Sima* sees the need for both etiquette/propriety and law (Ch. *fa*, J. *hō* 法). The importance of the people is emphasized, and the only justifications for military action are deemed to be righteousness (Ch. *yi*, J. *gi* 義) and providing aid to the people. The text also prohibits actions that harm the enemy's population. The attitude toward war is expressed as follows: "Those who love warfare will inevitably perish, [...] those who forget warfare will certainly be endangered!"³⁵ The main principles of warfare include training, motivation and analysis. The belief in the decline of virtue with time and the need to follow past sages pervades the text. Great importance is attached to "ritual oath" aimed at arousing the spirit of the army, which consisted of invoking state deities, glorifying the cause, condemning the enemy, and so on.³⁶

³⁵ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 126.

³⁶ Also noteworthy is the advice to retain "mendicant knights" to wage war. As noted by Sawyer, "some commentators take these as mendicant persuaders, whose ideas and talents could also be drawn on to develop policies and strategies. However, persuaders or sophists did not really appear until the rise of social mobility toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period. The Spring and Autumn conflicts disenfranchised many members of the nobility, creating a class of stateless wanderers with a wide array of talents — martial, technical, and administrative."

Wei Liaozi (Ch. *Wei Liaozi*, J. *Utsu ryōshi* 尉繚子) emphasizes the control of civil and martial spheres through the employment of strict laws. The text also upholds a ruler's benevolence, moderation, virtue, and righteousness, thereby integrating Confucian elements. The policies that are advised are aimed at a relatively weak ruler of a state who is suffering from defeat. Care for agriculture and people's welfare is said to be the basis of internal strength which in turn allows for the vanquishing of enemies without the use of arms. Campaigns are led against evil lords and not against the populace. Mandatory humanitarian measures (the securing of welfare and no plunder) minimize opposition and give strategic advantage. Daoist influence is seen in the following phrases: "...weapons are evil implements. Conflict is a contrary virtue. [...] only when it cannot be avoided does one employ them."³⁷ Preparation, planning, training and organization are all seen as important. Measures to encourage warriors and to create confusion among enemies are discussed. In accordance with the strong Legalist trend, the general is positioned as "an officer of the law," an impartial administrator of the law who investigates the causes of crimes.

The strength of a state is linked to the behaviour of its ruler, as can be seen from the following advice: "Evil lies in excessive executions. [...] Inauspicious events arise from detesting to hear about one's errors. [...] Misfortune lies in loving profits."³⁸ Ideally, "the military do not attack cities that have not committed transgressions or slay men who have not committed offenses. Whoever kills people's fathers and elder brothers, whoever profits himself with the riches and goods of other men, whoever makes slaves of the sons and daughters of

Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 417. These mendicant persuaders moved from one feudal lord to another, propounding various doctrines in search of employment.

³⁷ Ibid., 216-217.

³⁸ Ibid., 254.

other men is in all cases a brigand. For this reason, the military provides the means to execute the brutal and chaotic and to stop the unrighteous.”³⁹ The attitude toward the martial and civil spheres is described as follows: “The military takes the martial as its trunk, and takes the civil as its seed. It makes the martial its exterior, and the civil the interior. One who can investigate and follow the two will know victory and defeat. The civil is the means to discern benefit and harm, to discriminate security and danger. The martial is the means to contravene a strong enemy, to forcefully attack and defend.”⁴⁰

One of the peculiar features of the work is the attitude of complete reliance on human effort. For example, “What Sages esteem is human effort, that is all!”⁴¹ There is a consistent criticism of divination practices: “[...] ‘moments,’ ‘seasons,’ and ‘Heavenly Offices’ are not as important as human effort.”⁴² The criticism of divination indirectly reveals that during the Warring States period, many generals continued to rely on divination: “Generals of the present generation [...] interpret full and disastrous days, accord with tortoise shell augury, look for the auspicious and baleful, and observe the changes of the planets, constellations, and winds—wanting to thereby gain victory and establish their success. I view this as very difficult!”⁴³ Also: “Thus it is said that if you raise the worthy and employ the talented, even if the hour and day [are not auspicious], your affairs will still be advantageous. If you make the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 273-274.

⁴¹ Ibid., 249.

⁴² Ibid., 242.

⁴³ Ibid., 256.

laws clear and are cautious about orders, without divining with the tortoise shell or milfoil you will obtain propitious results. [...] The Sages of antiquity stressed human effort, that is all.”⁴⁴

The seventh text in the set of seven classics, *Questions and Replies Between Tang Taizong and Li Weigong* (Ch. *Tang Taizong Li Weigong Wendui*, J. *Tō Taisō Ri Eikō Montai* 唐太宗李衛公問對), consists of dialogues between the seventh century second Tang emperor, Taizong (r. 627-649), and the general and advisor Li Weigong (571-649). Taizong is known as a unifier of China – a ruler wise in politics and military affairs. His reign later became a model for rulers in East Asia who studied the famous political textbook *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign* (Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*, J. *Jōgan seiyō* 貞觀政要, ca. 710 CE), compiled by Tang historians in the form of a discussion of political matters between himself and his retainers and courtiers. The military studies text *Questions and Replies Between Tang Taizong and Li Weigong*, even if not based on a real discussion, was likely compiled during the Tang period, and was inspired by the content and format of *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign*. Different from the other six works of the *Seven Military Classics*, this text is a survey of earlier works, a discussion of theories and contradictions between views, and a discussion of Tang strategy with examples taken from Li Weigong’s own campaigns. *Sunzi* is especially praised and regarded highly. The famous statement from *Sunzi*, “warfare is the way of deception,” is interpreted here as “causing the enemy to make errors.” *Questions and Replies* states: “[...] if the enemy does not make an error in judgment, how can our army conquer them? It may be compared with chess where the two enemies [begin] equal in strength. As soon as someone

⁴⁴ Ibid., 257.

makes a mistake, truly no one can rescue him. For this reason, in both ancient and modern times, victory and defeat have proceeded from a single error...”⁴⁵

In addition, deception is not employed only against enemy forces, but also to control one’s own warriors. *Questions and Replies* rejects the efficacy of divination, yin-yang and omens, and yet recognizes them as means to “deceive,” or control and manipulate one’s own army. Thus, “[the masses] should be made to follow [omens and auspicious days] but should not be allowed to know this. In later ages ordinary generals have been mired in mystical techniques and for this reason have frequently suffered defeat. You cannot but admonish them.”⁴⁶ When asked if the divinatory practices can be abandoned, Li replies: “They cannot. The military is the Tao of deceit, so if we [apparently] put faith in yin and yang divinatory practices, we can manipulate the greedy and stupid. They cannot be abandoned.”⁴⁷ The author emphasizes human effort as the only cause of success, and mentions making fake omens and relying on divination in order to raise the spirit when doubts and fear are within the army.

Thus, during the Tang period, divination continued to be practised in military affairs. Although generals, some of whom apparently had sincere faith in divination, were to be instructed not to rely on magic and divination when taking decisions, lower-ranked officers and warriors were allowed to maintain their superstitious beliefs. This point confirms the extent to which divinatory practices were widespread in society and could be used for psychological manipulation.

Above, I have provided an overview of ancient continental military studies and the seven canonical works that influenced East Asian perceptions of statecraft and leadership. These texts

⁴⁵ Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 351-352.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 351.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 357.

dedicate attention to the attitudes towards and evaluation of divination. Divination by tortoise shells is often mentioned in discussions of the dawn of Chinese civilization, the earliest dynasties, and the most ancient Chinese characters on the shells. In fact, however, in premodern East Asia, divination survived and continued to be actively practiced for centuries, either sincerely or for the manipulation of people.⁴⁸ For example, the first compilation of military texts as a state project or “imperial anthology” during the Northern Song period in 1043 CE resulted in the work the *Essentials of the Military Classics* (Ch. *Wujing zongyao*, J. *Bukei sōyō* 武經總要). This forty-volume encyclopedia devotes five volumes to divination and yin-yang military studies. They were seen as indispensable in military affairs, although readers were warned against relying only on divination and neglecting human effort. Also, *Records of Armaments and Military Provisions* (Ch. *Wubeizhi*, J. *Bubishi* 武備志), a massive 240-volume encyclopedia of military affairs published in 1621, contains classical texts and materials related to military history, training, army management, and weapons, and also includes many divination-related texts. Ninety-three volumes, grouped as *Records about Divination and Measurements* (Ch. *Zhanduzai* 占度載), are devoted to “divination” (weather, superstitions, geomancy, yin-yang) and “measurements” (strategic topography, geography, maps). The *Records of Armaments and Military Provisions* was published in Japan in 1644 with some

⁴⁸ Traditionally, the legendary Yellow Emperor (Ch. *Huangdi* 黃帝) was believed to be the founder of yin-yang military studies in remote antiquity. He fought and ruled by means of the so-called Five Elements (Ch. *wuxing* 五行). These elements—that is, wood, fire, earth, metal, water—generate and strengthen each other (wood > fire) or overcome and weaken one another (water > fire). The Five Elements are also associated with the five colours (green, red, yellow, white, black) and five directions (east, south, centre, west, north). The Yellow Emperor considered himself to be “earth,” hence the association with the colour “yellow.” Moreover, “earth” is linked to the direction, “centre,” symbolizing the Yellow Emperor’s victories over the four rulers to the north, south, east, and west. As states or people were associated with specific elements, the “water” side was thought to beat the “fire” side. Since the outcome of battle was believed to depend not only on human power, but also on the will of Heaven that is beyond the grasp of human mind, the interaction between the Five Elements was seen as an expression of heavenly will. Far from being viewed as mere superstition, it was regarded as an advanced technique that comprised of astronomy, astrology, and calendar calculations, and thus it was an authoritative way to perceive the attitude or will of Heaven. Owada Yasutsune, *Heihō*, 78-79.

additions in Japanese. In the eighteenth century, the French Jesuit missionary Joseph Amiot translated several military classics into French, relying on the *Records of Armaments and Military Provisions* and Manchu translations. As later chapters in this thesis show, Edo-period military studies include discussions of supernatural phenomena and divination.

The overview given above shows the circumstances in which the military classics were created, their purpose, and their philosophical approaches to issues of leadership, statecraft, and social order. In premodern East Asia, these ancient classics served as universally applicable guides for rulers and generals with teachings about order and disorder. Although useful as theory and admonition in times of peace, these works acquired practical significance when troubles arose. They were important, for example, to Manchu rulers when founding the Qing dynasty during the mid-seventeenth century in China, and to warrior rulers unifying Japan and establishing the Tokugawa shogunate in the early Edo period. The so-called “Warring States” period (J. *Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代) in Japan during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries and the early Edo period, shared many similarities with the ancient Chinese period of Warring States, when the military classics were created during the fourth to third centuries BCE. We may be able to find similarities among different premodern historical contexts in which civil warfare took place between rival feudal lords and led to unification. Parallels include the development of cities or forts, the development of military studies by wandering philosophers or lecturers, and the shift from divination-based to planning-based military studies concerned with politics and economics in general. Despite numerous differences, parallels can be found in terms of historical context, the goals and methods of warfare, and styles of governance. These similarities may help us understand the ways in which East Asian military classics were applicable to the challenges faced by late medieval and early modern daimyo lords. Far from being abstract knowledge,

continental historical experience (in addition to the overall premodern tendency to look for precedents and models in the classical past) had practical significance in late medieval and early modern Japan.

2.3 The Warring States Context in Japan: Lords with Civil and Martial Functions

Even a cursory glance at the content of historian Kuroda Motoki's recent book on the daimyo of the Warring States period in Japan reveals a surprising picture: only one of six chapters is devoted to the subject of war itself, while the other five describe the administrative system, relations with retainers or vassal states, political and legal institutions, and tax and trade policies. This indicates that recent research—and Kuroda's book is intended as the first summary of Warring States research conducted since the 1980s—has been moving beyond earlier views that emphasized battles.

The territory under the control of a daimyo house was generally peaceful, and the daimyo was required to concentrate on elaborate policy-making, especially concerning the administration of villages that constituted the vital resource sustaining the regional state. Most military conflicts took place in border regions. Kuroda emphasizes that earlier images of this period were based on the concept of a “military state” ruled by a daimyo who endeavoured to expand territory through constant battling with neighbouring regions. The “rich state, strong army” was assumed to be the prerequisite for a successful expansion of land by an individual “heroic” daimyo. Over the last twenty years, however, historians have found that the context for conflicts during this period was a situation of chronic hunger with campaigns most actively waged during the summer and autumn harvests. Moreover, due to limits in the mobilization potential, a conflict could only occur in a specific area and not along all borders with enemy daimyo lords. Politically, most military activities started in response to aid requests from regional independent lords (*kunishū* 国)

衆), who were not much different from daimyo themselves, and controlled territories on the periphery of daimyo states. Daimyo competed for their allegiance, and refusal or inability to help them jeopardized the daimyo's reputation. In the context of a power structure premised on multilayered "reliance" relations, the reputation of being "unreliable" threatened a daimyo's ability to keep retainers and other followers, and could provoke a revolt or even lead to the destruction of the daimyo house.⁴⁹

As follows from the above description, Warring States daimyo dealt with administrative and socio-political issues (*bun* 文), and with military duties (*bu* 武). Kuroda and other current scholars even claim that there is little difference between Warring States daimyo and the later daimyo who unified Japan, such as Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598). They shared more similarities than differences, and the differences in policies—often labeled as "progressive" or "innovative" in earlier studies to explain the "progress" into the peaceful Edo period—were rather due to regional differences and changes in social context. Edo-period daimyo did not have military conflicts among themselves, but apart from this they had much in common with lords of the Warring States period.⁵⁰

One more noteworthy feature of the Warring States era is the participation of villagers in conflicts, alongside regular retainer armies. Such supplementary mobilization was commonly practiced, for example, during the Muromachi era, the Edo period, and even the Bakumatsu war of the 1860s.⁵¹ Warrior-class retainers functioned as "regular troops" who were supplemented with "extra troops" mobilized from villages in special cases. This practice is perhaps one of the

⁴⁹ Kuroda Motoki, *Sengoku daimyō* (Heibonsha, 2014).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 230-235.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 209.

reasons why not only daimyo but even village headmen were interested in texts of military studies.

Thus, even prior to the Edo period, daimyo lords functioned as warriors or generals and had many civil functions as administrators. Faced with the necessity to deal with a wide range of duties and problems, daimyo lords sought guidance in works such as the *Seven Military Classics*, and gathered advisors who compiled new texts. As teachings about statecraft and leadership, late medieval and early modern military studies were not abstract theory, but knowledge that had practical significance for daimyo lords.

2.4 Military Studies in East Asia: Manchu Rulers and Qing China

Military studies played a great practical role not only in late medieval and early modern Japan, but in other areas of East Asia as well. Before discussing the Japanese context in detail, I will outline their use by the Manchus during the Qing period, contemporary to the Edo period in Japan. Let us begin with a preface to the first European translation of Chinese military treatises by Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (1718-1793), a French Jesuit missionary in Qing China, produced in the middle of the eighteenth century and published in 1772 in Paris. It is evident that the ancient classics were actively used in Qing China as practical textbooks which retained some relevance many centuries later in a different historical context: the long French title describes them as “works on which those who aspire to military ranks must be examined” (*Ouvrages sur lesquels les Aspirants aux Grades Militaires sont obligés de subir des examens*). The missionary and translator, Joseph Amiot, a witness of the Qing era who was at the same time well-versed in all kinds of Chinese classics, stated:

[...] this same nation [i.e., China], for close to four thousand years that it remains in the state close to the one seen today, has always, or almost always, triumphed over its enemies, and when it had a misfortune of being defeated, it imposed its laws on the conquerors themselves.

[...] cette même Nation, depuis près de quatre mille ans qu'elle subsiste dans l'état à-peu près où on la voit aujourd'hui, a toujours, ou presque toujours, triomphé de ses ennemis; & lorsqu'elle a eu le malheur d'être vaincue, elle a donné la loi aux vainqueurs eux-mêmes.⁵²

Despite this Orientalist view of an eternal non-changing East, Amiot's first-hand observations of the Manchu's reliance on ancient military classics are valid and trustworthy. His following remark states this explicitly:

Tartar-Manchu emperors, who have governed China since the destruction of the Ming, did not believe they could better handle the theory of war than did the Chinese whom they defeated. That is why they contented to have the most essential of their works translated with greatest possible care: they have appropriated everything they found in the defeated nation that could suit them, and mainly adopting the form of their government, they did not find it unworthy to adopt in the same way the majority of their military precepts. If there is a difference between the army of today and that of ancient Chinese, it is only in a certain external administration which should not be counted for nothing. The ten precepts of emperor Yongzheng are composed in general for instruction of all the Manchu because they are all considered warriors.

Les Empereurs Tartares-Mantchous, qui ont gouverné la Chine depuis la destruction des Ming, n'ont pas cru pouvoir mieux traiter la théorie de la guerre que n'avoient fait les Chinois qu'ils ont vaincus; c'est pourquoi ils se sont contentés de faire traduire, avec tout le soin possible, leurs Ouvrages les plus essentiels: ils se sont approprié tout ce qu'ils ont trouvé chez la Nation vaincue, qui pouvoit leur convenir; & en adoptant la forme de leur Gouvernement, quant au principal, ils n'ont pas jugé qu'il fût indigne d'eux d'adopter également la plupart de leurs préceptes militaires. S'il y a de la différence entre la milice d'aujourd'hui & celle des anciens Chinois, elle ne se trouve guere que dans une certaine police extérieure, qui ne doit être comptée pour rien. Les dix Préceptes de l'Empereur Yong-tcheng sont faits en général pour l'instruction de tous les Mantchous, parce qu'ils sont censés être tous gens de guerre.⁵³

⁵² Joseph Amiot, *Art Militaire des Chinois, ou Recueil d'Anciens Traités sur la Guerre* (Paris, 1772), 2.

⁵³ Ibid., 12.

The last sentence refers to the precepts to Manchu warriors promulgated in 1728 by the fifth Qing emperor, Yongzheng (1678-1735, r. 1722-35), and appended by Amiot to the translation of ancient classics. In addition to the practical identity between ancient and current ways of warfare claimed by the French missionary, he also stresses that these precepts were meant for instruction of troops “as members of civil society” since “the first concern of Chinese emperor is to strive to make good citizens and then he seeks to make good warriors.”⁵⁴

Since the first European (French) translation was done by Amiot not only from classical Chinese, but mainly from Manchu translations (completed in 1710) in consultation with learned Manchu, I provide a brief outline of the Manchu reception of the military classics. In recent articles in Japanese, historian Zhuang Sheng provides detailed information on the reception of Chinese military and other classics by the Manchus in the seventeenth century. Although I am not aiming to examine how these texts were studied in East Asia in general, the details of their reception process have peculiar similarities with the Japanese case during that same time period, as described below, and thus merit a closer look. The similarities make it possible to view the study of these texts in East Asia within a common framework.

Even before the Ming-to-Qing transition and the establishment of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, the first emperors (still as Jurchen leaders in northeastern areas of China) had considerable knowledge of Chinese texts, in addition to other influences from Mongol and Tibetan cultures. Records show that Nurhaci (1559-1626, r. 1616-26), the first Qing emperor, retold in his speeches to other lords not only Buddhist stories and sutras as lessons or instructive examples, but also cited in the Manchu language content from the *Records of the Grand Historian* (Ch.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 11.

Shiji, J. *Shiki* 史記) and Confucian and historical works.⁵⁵ Past examples from the *History of Jin* (*Jinshi* 金史, 1344 CE) were also drawn as instructive historical precedents. The earliest case of such reference takes place in 1618 when Nurhaci gives old Jin (1115-1234 CE) examples and draws parallels with the current situation. Later, the second emperor, Hong Taiji (1592-1643, r. 1626-43), continued this practice in the 1630s.

Of special interest is the media by which Jurchen/Manchu lords accessed Chinese texts. The sources for various historical precedents were Chinese works and episodes from vernacular narratives (*baihua xiaoshuo* 白話小說). These works were accessible to Nurhaci, for example, by two means: reading a Manchu translation (“seen”) or listening to a lecturer (“heard”).⁵⁶ It is known that Nurhaci had a learned Jurchen as a home tutor who was versed in classical Chinese and whose duty was to teach various texts to Nurhaci and his family. The lecture method was common in Chinese culture and likely influenced the way Jurchens/Manchus learned historical precedents. For example, since the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE), historical narratives were told in the form of *pinghua* 平話 stories, and later in the Ming period (1368-1644 CE), it had become a widespread custom to recite stories based on history. This storytelling tradition combining scholarship with entertainment is known as lecturing on history (*jiangshi* 講史), evaluation stories (*pinghua* 評話), or explaining texts (*shuoshu* 說書).

As for the “military texts,” records show that the second emperor, Hong Taiji, was fond of reading and citing the *Three Strategies* and *Six Secret Teachings*. The project to create a Manchu translation started in 1631 with the translation of the *Sunzi's Art of War* and several other works from the *Seven Military Classics* completed in 1710. Records from the 1630s show

⁵⁵ Zhuang Sheng, “17 seiki ni okeru Manjujin no kataru kanbunka,” *The Tōhō Gakuhō Journal of Oriental Studies* 88 (2013): 218.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

the emperor citing the *Three Strategies* to officers, for example, as a source of advice on army management or the commander's attitude and duties with specific application to the current situation, thus admonishing or advising Manchu officers on how to treat subordinates according to ancient examples. Although Zhuang Sheng points out that the Emperor read Chinese military classics for the purpose of general edification and not out of military necessity⁵⁷ in order to apply this knowledge in actual battles, such reading highlights the content of these works that goes beyond military matters.

By the Hong Taiji era, the Manchus had also become familiar with historical works such as the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, 1084 CE), and with the Confucian classics, and this knowledge greatly influenced their politics. Ming intellectuals came to serve Hong Taiji and gave advice on the lord's instruction. Some advised to translate the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* for the emperor to read, while one Ming scholar in 1635 proposed to have selected essential passages translated from Confucian classics and the *Comprehensive Mirror* for daily lectures to the Emperor. The *Comprehensive Mirror* was compiled as a reference tool for the ruler in the late eleventh century, based on the concept of history as a model or instructive example for rulers. This practice continued, and in the Ming era, scholars composed introductory commentaries with simple explanations in vernacular for the *Comprehensive Mirror*, and the Confucian classics for daily lectures which were held, for example, at the Ming court for Emperor Wanli 萬曆 (1563-1620).⁵⁸ Thus, Ming scholars serving Hong Taiji promoted the same tradition with the same texts and a similar learning process. Manchu rulers were apparently convinced of the value of such instruction,

⁵⁷ Ibid., 238.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 232.

since they avidly studied historical, Confucian and military classics, striving to become sage rulers. In 1635, Hong Taiji in his speech to ministers, referred to the political ways of the Great Liao (*Daliao* 大遼, 907-1125 CE), Jin, Song, and Great Yuan (*Dayuan* 大元, 1271-1368 CE) as leading to the prosperity of the state, while criticizing other policies as harmful to state politics. From this example, it is evident that knowledge of past histories, especially those of states seen as predecessors or models for the Manchu state such as the Jin, was valued by the emperor, and was regularly acquired and referred to as the precedent guiding current state affairs. The third emperor, Shunzhi 順治 (1638-1661, r. 1644-1661), continued the tradition of studying Chinese texts, as follows from the 1646 record: “The lord diligently read the history of Tang and Song, about the merits and demerits of Liao, Jin, and Yuan precedents.”⁵⁹

I would like to highlight a somewhat counterintuitive philosophy or approach to the emperor’s education, both in the Ming and in the Manchu states. A Ming scholar serving Hong Taiji proposed to have a one-volume compilation of histories and classics prepared for the emperor’s instruction and reference. He argued that “the learning of the ruler differs from that of the people” (人君之学、與衆人之学不同) and that “the learning of the people consists of chapters and verses, while the learning of the ruler consists of concise essentials” (衆人之学、在章句。人君之学、在精要). He went on to mention the project of the second Tang emperor, Taizong 太宗 (599-649 CE, r. 626-649), to compile a one-volume *Ruler’s Mirror* (*Junjian* 君鑑). A Ming example with the same approach, introductory compilations for Emperor Wanli, is already mentioned above. The key point is not to overload a ruler with more texts or more details than the scholars, but on the contrary, to give a ruler only the most relevant parts to be transmitted by scholars during regular lecture sessions to the ruler. Presumably, a ruler was busy

⁵⁹ Ibid., 236.

with practical governance, and should not waste time and effort on the detailed scholarly analysis of many texts, and instead needed to focus only on the main concepts, principles, and examples that were useful in effective government. This approach explains why texts for lectures at the Ming court included simplified explanations in vernacular (*baihua* 白話), and why the first Manchu emperor, Nurhaci, knew vernacular stories. Often, in modern scholarship the vernacular, spoken and simplified is equated with popular audiences and entertainment for commoners. The conscious choice and recommendation of such formats for the edification of rulers clearly questions this simplified assumption. I will further explore this issue in the Japanese context, however it is useful to keep in mind the existence of this phenomenon in the wider East Asian framework.

The Jurchens/Manchus gathered various Chinese books as trophies taken in battle, bought them during visits to Beijing, or requested books from neighbouring Korea. Zhuang Sheng provides a table with different Chinese works that appear in Manchu records. The list includes a large set of histories, Confucian classics, legal texts, and military classics.⁶⁰ As for the teachers or advisers, the Jurchens welcomed educated Chinese and Koreans, some of whom were captives, and employed them for generous rewards. A curious 1598 record mentions twenty Koreans skilled in literary and military arts serving Nurhaci and teaching methods of mounted archery. This evidence shows that Korean intellectuals and military experts were active in Nurhaci's court during the late sixteenth century. When the Qing dynasty was established, Chinese and Korean experts of this kind were likely involved in state building as well as in cultural activities.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Zhuang Sheng, "Manjujin no dokusho seikatsu ni tsuite: kanbunka no juyō o chūshin ni," *Rekishi bunka shakairon kōza kiyō* 11 (2014): 4-5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

This overview of Manchu rulers' study and use of the military and historical classics raises the topic of rulers' education, lectures on history for practical application in current affairs, and the creation of vernacular digests of classics for ruler's use. Japanese daimyo lords and warrior rulers of the late medieval and early modern periods also eagerly practised similar approaches to ancient military and other classics, seeing practical value in their study. This demand in texts on leadership and statecraft resulted in the production of numerous didactic commentaries and treatises intended for rulers and officials. In the following sections, I discuss Japanese medieval and early modern intellectual history related to warriors and their education, focusing on military studies.

2.5 Intellectual History: Research on Japanese Texts and Concepts Related to Warriors

Japanese scholarship on texts related to warriors or warrior-officials (*bushi* 武士, *buke* 武家, *shi* 士) has expanded over the past ten to fifteen years. Growing scholarly interest in the literature, history, and intellectual history of medieval and early modern warriors has resulted in studies that revise established views and bring attention to numerous premodern textual sources that have been ignored previously. Topics related to warriors and their activities have been marginal in post-war Japan, and scholars have avoided studying texts associated with premodern warriors that could be seen as promoting nationalistic or militaristic ideas. Post-war studies of the Edo period, for example, mainly turned to popular commoner literature and culture.⁶² Literary research in the 1970s experienced an “Edo boom” which introduced a strong popular image of the Edo era as being “bright and democratic.”⁶³ Edo literature in the high school

⁶² Inoue Yasushi, *Samurai no shosai: Edo buke bunjin retsuden* (Perikansha, 2007), 2.

⁶³ Shiraishi Yoshio, “‘Bushi’ kenkyū no kōryū o,” *Edo bungaku* 31 (2004): 3.

curriculum is still dominated by commoner literature, and people hesitate to recognize the Edo period as predominantly an era of the warriors.

Paradoxically, “warriors” and their culture came to be neglected or downplayed, despite their importance as the ruling well-educated elite class of society. Another problem is the issue of classifying warrior-class “literature.” In postwar research, political and intellectual works associated with warriors—for example, moral and scholarly guides—were not even recognized as “literature.” The solution lies in adopting an interdisciplinary approach that seeks to bridge gaps between scholarship, methods and texts, divided into separate fields of literature, history and intellectual history. New scholarship has tended to take an interdisciplinary approach, although there are still few representative studies. Outside of Japan, research in this area is limited and at present the only scholars who mention some of the relevant primary and secondary sources are specialists in martial arts.⁶⁴

As pointed out by the literary scholar Inoue Yasushi, the study of warrior-related literature, in its widest sense, as one of the important pillars of Edo society, does not aim to cultivate the so-called “warrior spirit” as practiced in prewar Japan. Rather, the goal is to analyze the culture and literature of the premodern class of warrior-officials.⁶⁵ I would further add that the militaristic Japan of the 1930s was separated from medieval and early modern Japan by the major political, social and educational transformations of the Meiji period. In other words, the study of premodern political, scholarly and cultural activities of warrior-officials is not directly tied to modern militarism and nationalism.

⁶⁴ David A. Hall, *Encyclopedia of Japanese Martial Arts* (New York: Kodansha USA, 2012).

⁶⁵ Inoue Yasushi, *Samurai no shosai: Edo buke bunjin retsuden*, 3.

2.5.1 Changing Perceptions of Japan: The Civil and the Martial

The samurai still remain one of the top stereotypes and symbols of Japan, both in contemporary Japanese society as well as around the world. Dramas featuring Japanese warriors of the past continue to be produced on a regular basis, and in the world of sport, for example, samurai-related attire or team names are commonly seen. Many Japanese see themselves as descendants of warriors of the medieval, Sengoku, or Edo periods. The “martial” or warrior-like character (*bu* 武) is seen as one of the main features of Japanese identity or self-perception. The view of Japan as a “martial state” (*bukoku* 武国) has origins in past history, and in the modern era it has certainly been used to gain support for the militaristic ideology of the Meiji state, reaching more extreme levels during the 1930s to 40s.

In a recent article, the literary scholar Saeki Shin’ichi offers an overview of the historical development of the concept of martiality (*bu* 武) as Japanese self-perception, and demonstrates how this view changed in different historical periods. So far, this topic has not been studied in detail and the detection of substantial variation in different historical periods calls for further investigation. The claim is that the perception of Japan as a *bukoku* 武国 state was not established since ancient times, and for long periods in ancient and medieval Japan it was not necessarily seen as a primary characteristic of Japan or an unequivocal cause of pride.⁶⁶

From the earliest records such as *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (the *Chronicles of Japan*, 720 CE) and throughout history, the most powerful self-perception was that of the “divine state” or land under divine protection (*shinkoku* 神国). As state ideology, it was established since the late eleventh century, and originally was not tied to a perception of superiority or warrior features.

⁶⁶ Saeki Shin’ichi, “Nihonjin no ‘bu’ no jiishiki,” in *Kindai kokka no keisei to esunishiti: hikakushiteki kenkyū*, ed. Watanabe Setsuo (Keisōshobō, 2014), 53-97.

The idea of Japan as a warrior state is found in the late twelfth century in works by Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), a scholar and witness of the Genpei conflict, and in the *setsuwa* anthology, *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (1221). In these works set in continental Tang or Silla, the Japanese are described as skilled in battle, able to handle longer arrows than continental warriors, and Japan is referred to as “the land of warriors” (*tsuwamono/hyō no kuni* 兵の国). This consciousness, however, was very limited in scope, and later under the Kamakura bakufu the value of martiality was not evident, with few texts expressing the consciousness of warriors themselves.⁶⁷

Medieval war tales do not necessarily praise military arts and warriors. For example, Taira no Masakado 平将門 (?-940), a general who confronted the central government in Kyoto, is criticized precisely for caring only about military arts. The *Tale of the Heike*, being an eclectic compilation of materials by multiple authors, contains diverse, even contradictory, viewpoints and evaluations. Although there are many inclusions reflecting a “warrior” perspective, earlier layers seen in the Engyōbon variant label warriors as rustic/barbarian (*ebisu* 夷), and the thirteenth-century war tales—compiled by nobles and monks—do not express the views of the warriors. In war tales, the martial is seen as necessary for the state due to the arrival of the Latter Age (*mappō* 末法), the era of decline and disorder of the world, especially from the Heiji era (1159 CE) onward.⁶⁸ Still, the martial is not the dominant concept, and it is positioned as being equally significant to the civil (*bun* 文), as seen for example in the balance of the “two ways of the civil and the martial” (*bunbu nidō* 文武二道) in *Heiji monogatari* 平治物語 (the *Tale of*

⁶⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁶⁸ The terms *mappō* 末法 (The Latter Law), *masse* 末世 (The Latter Age), and *matsudai* 末代 (The Latter Era) are often used as synonyms, and they refer to 1) the Latter Age of the Buddhist Law when Buddhist teachings are abandoned (in the Heian and medieval Japan it was believed to begin in 1052 CE), 2) times of trouble, a world or society in which morality declined, and 3) a later age.

Heiji, thirteenth century). Also, the term “martial authority” (*bui* 武威) was usually used in a very negative sense of violence in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, that is, during the era of the *Tale of the Heike*.

After the thirteenth century conflict with the Mongols, the success of which was attributed largely to the “authority of deities” (*shin'i* 神威) rather than military force, fourteenth century works begin to display a consciousness of Japan as a “divine land” (*shinkoku* 神国), superior to other lands. Despite the growing importance of the martial discourse, martiality was not yet seen as the central property of Japan.⁶⁹

Texts of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries reveal a growing sense of warrior self-consciousness. The *Taiheiki* 太平記 (the *Chronicle of Great Peace*, late fourteenth century), which records warrior deeds, lifestyles and ethics, is still a work for warriors and not by warriors. The era is seen as the “world in disorder” (*ranse* 乱世) and the path to suppress disorder is sought in correct political measures. According to Saeki, the oldest extant text written from a warrior perspective by a warrior is *Yoshisada gunki* 義貞軍記 (the *Military Chronicle of Yoshisada*, early fifteenth century). It contains advice and practical information for warriors, and strongly emphasizes the author’s clear consciousness of belonging to the martial (*bu*) side as opposed to the civil (*bun*) side of the nobles. Later, this warrior self-perception would be expanded to the scale of the state.

In 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi boasted of Japan’s strength in archery and weapons and claimed superiority to Ming China by describing it as a civil (*bun*) state weak in martial aspects. This shift to the image of Japan as a country superior in the martial (*bu*) sphere was further developed in theories of the Edo period. In earlier periods, the reason for this superiority was not

⁶⁹ Ibid., 73.

explained beyond skills in archery, but during the Edo period, explanations were grounded in history. The strongest and most common basis for the “martial state” (*bukoku*) concept was sought in the mythical Shinto theory of the Heavenly Spear (*ama no nuhoko, ame no nuboko* 天瓊矛) used in the creation of the land by the deities, Izanagi and Izanami in the *Nihon shoki*. Thus, Japan was defined as a martial (*bu*) land from its ancient origins. The first scholar to advance this theory was Yoshikawa Koretari 吉川惟足 (1616-1694), a Shintoist serving the shogun who criticized Buddhism and foreign culture (*bun*) as harmful to Japan’s martial nature, and praised the Tokugawa for returning Japan to its correct original state.⁷⁰ This same spear myth was upheld by scholars such as Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685) who, however, viewed it as a Japanese feature within the traditional framework of balancing the civil and the martial (*bunbu*). The martial state consciousness had an undercurrent of nationalism—to get rid of foreign civil (*bun*) elements in favour of local martial (*bu*) ones seen as the original essence—which gradually permeated to commoners as well, and yet the mainstream discourse balanced the two. From the nineteenth century onward, nationalistic martial rhetoric grew, stimulated by perceived threats from foreign powers, and later developed in the modern period to support militaristic discourse. With roots in Edo-period theories, the view of Japan as an originally martial state since ancient times influenced historical research, post-war views of history, research on war tales, and even continues to survive in the twenty-first century in appeals to maintain the original ancient martial spirit without foreign influences.⁷¹

As follows from the above, the transition from the late medieval to early Edo period involved changes in the perception of the state and warriors’ identity. Texts of Edo-period

⁷⁰ Ibid., 81.

⁷¹ Ibid., 90.

military studies, including commentaries discussed in later chapters, were part of the debates about statecraft, warriors and history. Authors and compilers of commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* upheld the concept of the civil-martial balance, and their commentaries can be taken as a way to counterbalance the excessively “civil” (*bun*) medieval original with “martial” (*bu*) elements.

2.5.2 Research on Edo-period Intellectual History: Martial Authority (*bui* 武威)

The view of the Edo-period state system as a martial state (*bukoku* 武国) based on the principle of “martial authority” (*bui* 武威) has become more accepted in Japanese scholarship, while former claims about the dominant role of Neo-Confucian ideology are being revised. The intellectual historian, Maruyama Masao, describes the Edo-period system of rule as a military government set up to be ready for mobilization and threats of revolt. Japan is described as a huge military camp (*heiei kokka* 兵营国家) regulated by military organization and laws. Unlike strongly Confucian states such as China and Korea, which were run by scholar-officials who had passed the state civil examination, Edo Japan was governed by hereditary warriors who held both military and economic power. According to the intellectual historian Maeda Tsutomu, ideologies of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism were all used to govern and control people, while the military state itself also required principles regulating application of power. This theory was military studies (*heigaku*, *hyōgaku* 兵学) and Maeda claims that it was the central thinking of the Tokugawa bakufu.⁷² Neo-Confucian scholars of the Edo period characterized the bakufu system in the same way, although they criticized the legalist tendencies of the bakufu and its use of

⁷² Maeda Tsutomu, *Heigaku to shushigaku, rangaku, kokugaku: kinsei Nihon shisōshi no kōzu* (Heibonsha, 2006), 20.

military studies for peacetime governance. Scholars of military studies insisted that their theories were equally suitable for peacetime rule, and ensured protection of the state and order in society. One of the key ideas behind the applicability of similar approaches in war and peace was the view of history based on the concept of the Latter Age, according to which order and morals in human society deteriorate with time. Even if moral teachings had worked in the past, under the rule of the sages, from a given era this rule relying only on *bun* 文 no longer prevented disorder (*ran* 乱). The Latter Age, with growing corruption and chaos, required “martial authority” (*bui* 武威) for peace and order in society.⁷³

These ideas supported the existing bakufu system by providing an explanation of why rulers and officials had to be from warrior-class families, rather than those of monks or nobles, for example. At the same time, the Latter Age concept was used for admonishing warrior-officials themselves: only wise leadership can keep state and society from chaos, whereas negligence, luxury, idleness and other vices soon lead to the ruin of family and state. Also, it is incorrect to assume that “martial authority” justified constant or random violence against retainers and people in general. Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), a prominent Confucian philosopher and military studies scholar, viewed the task of government rule and pacification as a difficult one due in part to the stubborn, disobedient, and cunning nature of commoners and the disruption of order by thieves, for example, and yet he considered violent measures as a final resort. In the case of tensions between bakufu lords and the people, “winning without fighting” was considered the ideal path, and in order to achieve control, a ruler needed to know the conditions of people, uphold the hierarchy in society, reward and punish fairly, and so on. Social groups such as warriors, farmers, artisans, merchants were all seen as parts of the whole organism, each

⁷³ Ibid., 57.

with its own functions. Warrior-officials (*shi*) were to punish crimes, maintain order, and serve as examples to others, thus ensuring the continuity of the state and society.⁷⁴ Moreover, in the early Edo period, military studies contained not only military techniques, but became a complex ethical and political theory, incorporating Neo-Confucian and Buddhist elements, and aimed to protect and sustain order in the state.

2.5.3 Research on Medieval Intellectual History: Dealing with Alterity

In this, and the chapters that follow, my examination focuses on texts created during the seventeenth century, a period of transition between medieval and early Edo Japan. Medieval texts and practices were still a prominent part of the intellectual context, and scholars and commentators often had to engage with them in order to express either support or criticism. The following discussion clarifies the medieval roots and overall significance of divination content occasionally found in seventeenth-century texts of military studies.

In this section, I discuss the alterity of the medieval worldview, a topic confronting researchers who study medieval texts. The literary scholar Susan Klein, in her study of esoteric medieval commentaries, notes the reluctance of modern scholarship to take into account the particular nature of medieval beliefs and practices:

Western (and most Japanese) scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the aesthetic dimensions of medieval Japanese literature. [...] the medieval Japanese religious experience has been transformed into a reflection of contemporary secular humanism. [...] [Medieval literary artifacts are] grounded in a belief system quite different from our own critical practices. [...] we need to take the alterity of the medieval literary and

⁷⁴ Ibid., 58-65.

religious experience much more seriously [...] ⁷⁵

For example, modern research for some time tended to give priority to the so-called new Buddhist movements of the Kamakura era, such as Zen, as opposed to esoteric Buddhism. This trend has been revised in favour of a more fluid and dynamic model. One of the leading scholars of Japanese Buddhism Sueki Fumihiko emphasizes, following the views of the historian Kuroda Toshio, the structure of esoteric and exoteric Buddhism as the core of medieval intellectual thought, with new movements appearing on its periphery to be included into the core, or growing autonomously from it. In this model, esoteric Buddhism is not the opposite of new Buddhist sects (as proposed in the earlier binary model), but is the core with which new movements dynamically interact. Instead of binary pairs such as old vs. new, orthodox vs. heterodox, or impure mix vs. pure separate sects, researchers came to recognize the fluid complexity and dynamic quality of medieval thought. ⁷⁶ Despite growing fragmentation and opposition in the late medieval and early modern periods, it is notable that there was no sharp break, and that these processes gradually continued well into the early modern period.

Major trends in current research on medieval thought are premised on the ongoing progress made over the last twenty to thirty years in the study of the voluminous archives of esoteric temples. These institutions served many roles in a variety of spheres of activity, functioning as enormous centres of medieval culture. In contrast to earlier approaches, when the tendency was to pick only those parts necessary for a particular topic, the recent trend is to examine all sources comprehensively, including those with supernatural content, which may go

⁷⁵ Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 9-11.

⁷⁶ Sueki Fumihiko, “Sōron: Chūsei no shisō,” in *Nihon shisōshi kōza 2: Chūsei*, ed. Karube Tadashi, Kurozumi Makoto, Satō Hiroo, Sueki Fumihiko, Tajiri Yūichirō (Perikansha, 2012), 20.

beyond modern expectations and views. This endeavour makes it possible to consider medieval intellectual history in its own context, or at least to bypass some of the boundaries imposed by modern thinking.⁷⁷

One of the supernatural topics that currently attracts scholarly attention is the so-called *myōken* 冥顯 structure of the medieval worldview. *Ken* refers to the world comprehensible to human senses and thinking—in other words, a world of ethics, laws, and everyday reality in general. The *myō* world exceeds human comprehension since it is a world of deities, the dead, other people’s minds, and so on. It is by no means chaotic, and has its own order unknown to humans. The important aspect of this view is that the world of *myō* is not separate from the *ken* world that it influences from the background, so to speak. In addition, the *myō* world is not visible from this world, whereas the *ken* world is assumed to be visible from the *myō* world. One example of such a worldview is Jien’s (1155-1225) *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (*Notes of My Foolish Views*, 1219), which offers a framework in which *myō* entities would include deities, incarnations (who are temporary manifestations from the *myō* in the *ken*), vengeful ghosts, supernatural *tengu* creatures, and foxes. Sueki suggests that across time, the relative importance of the two worlds changed, *myō* being a more powerful and “true” world in the medieval era, with *ken* expanding in the Edo period, and finally *myō* being removed from discourse in the modern era.⁷⁸

It is tempting to dismiss such concepts based on the religious thinking of premodern times, but to do so would distort and limit the scope of current research on premodern culture or

⁷⁷ Ibid., 17-18, 23.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 21-22.

texts. If both this-worldly and other-worldly concepts⁷⁹ coexisted in premodern discourse and worldviews, it is necessary to study how they both functioned and not to ignore one or the other. This is especially true of medieval warrior beliefs, some of which appear to be irrational by modern standards. Indeed, not only modern scholars, but also those of early Edo who produced commentaries on medieval texts, were aware of the difference and sought to interpret supernatural content in new ways. For example, medieval texts influenced by Buddhist teachings, such as the *Tale of the Heike*, did not exactly fit into didactic frames of Edo-period military studies aimed at a daimyo audience, and this discrepancy motivated scholars to create the commentaries discussed in later chapters. Their authors argued not only against supernatural content, but also against the continuous influence of earlier beliefs on Edo-period warriors and against scholars who sought to create new teachings on military studies based on mystical, supernatural concepts such as divination. Viewed in the context of military studies, we can see that there are continuities between some elements of intellectual history in the late medieval and early modern periods which help us understand the Edo-period texts examined later.

2.6 Medieval Military Texts and Beliefs

In this section, I present several texts that illustrate the beliefs and practices characteristic of the medieval period. Among the extant and most representative texts of the pre-Edo military ways that were also influential during the Edo period, are the *One-volume Text of Secret Techniques of Military Ways* (*Hyōhō hijutsu ichimakisho* 兵法秘術一卷書) and the *Collection of Instructions and Investigations* (*Kin'etsushū* 訓閱集).

⁷⁹ In this study, I use “this-worldly” to describe military studies teachings that rely on human effort and intellect. “Other-worldly” and “supernatural” refer to military studies teachings and practices that rely on divination, magic spells, fortune, will of Heaven, and deities.

The first work, also known as *Zhang Liang's One-volume Text* (*Chōryō ichimakisho* 張良一卷書), *Yoshitsune's Tiger Volume* (*Yoshitsune tora no maki* 義経虎之巻), or *Forty-two Articles of Military Ways* (*Hyōhō yonjūni kajō* 兵法四十二箇条), has an obscure history reaching back to the Heian-Kamakura period. Various works having a “one-volume text” (*ichimakisho*, *ikkansho* 一卷書) in their title were circulated during the medieval period, and it is unclear which extant text inherits their content. Chinese texts such as the *Three Strategies*, *Six Secret Teachings*, or the *Pure Book of Master Huangshi* (Ch. *Huangshigong Sushu*, J. *Kōsekikō Soshō* 黄石公素書) were suggested as equivalents for this one-volume text from the Heian period onward. In the Kamakura era, the work was already associated with a “forty-two article” text. The oldest extant manuscript (1314) of the *One-volume Text of Secret Techniques of Military Ways* also consists of forty-two articles. The early Muromachi era general and intellectual Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1326-1420) wrote in *Ryōshun Ōzōshi* 了俊大草紙: “Matters of military ways: Nowadays the military text used by people in the land is the forty-two article text. [...] All military ways are based on Shingon and it is hard to practice them.”⁸⁰ The widely used text incorporated Shingon Buddhist esoteric elements such as magical spells and hand gestures.

It is unknown who wrote the text, but it was most likely created during the Kamakura period by Buddhist monks. Its transmission history shows that it was a secret text that was actively circulating among monks. One of the transmission lineages centres on the Ōe family, the court noble and scholar Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963), and others, with further

⁸⁰ 兵法事 今天下に人の用所の兵書は、四十二ヶ条なり。（略）兵法の事は皆真言にて左右なく行がたき事也。Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi: heihōgaku no genryū to tenkai*, vol. 1 (Yūzankaku, 1972), 29.

transmission to the monks of Mount Hiei;⁸¹ later to the Hosokawa warrior family which was close to the Shogun Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358); and then to the Koga 久我 family of nobles during the Muromachi period; and finally to the Mount Kōya monastery.⁸²

Another lineage, from Ōe no Koretoki to the Genji (Ashikaga) and monks, lists the names of Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159-1189), Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), Ashikaga Takauji, and the Tendai monks of Mount Hiei. Yet another lineage claims to originate from the scholar and noble Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695-775), with later transmission by his descendants to the Genji family and Tendai monks on Mount Hiei. Another branch of this transmission leads to the semi-legendary Kurama temple monk Kiichi Hōgen 鬼一法眼, who allegedly transmitted the text to Minamoto no Yoshitsune.⁸³ Later, Warrior States period generals also received knowledge of this esoteric kind from monks. For example, in 1551 Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521-1573), a daimyo and famous general, was shown a text called *Tiger Volume* (*Tora no maki* 虎之巻) by a monk from Mount Kōya. The Mōri clan, claiming descent from the Ōe family, also had the *One-volume Text* and possessed other related texts transmitted in the 1550s to 1560s.⁸⁴

The content is typical of medieval military treatises, and matches well with the transmission history outlined above that points to a strong influence from esoteric Buddhist circles. The text begins with ceremonies preceding a campaign, such as the prayer to “war deities”

⁸¹ In the medieval period, Mount Hiei was not only a place of Buddhist studies, but also a scholarly institution for such disciplines as medicine, Confucian studies, poetry, military studies, agriculture, mathematics, etc. Being located close to Kyoto, it functioned as a learning centre for nobles and members of the imperial family.

⁸² Evidence shows that transmission continued in early Edo period, for example, from Shingon provincial temples to provincial warriors. Thus, medieval esoteric military techniques were not abandoned and had adherents in the Edo period.

⁸³ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 55-57.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 57-59.

(*ikusagami* 軍神), which were carried out to ensure victory. Other sections provide incantations and techniques aimed at ensuring personal safety and a strong spirit. The text contains numerous magical spells and hand gestures that help one to become invisible, to change inauspicious days into auspicious ones, to weaken an opponent's spirit, or to get rid of fear when facing an opponent.

I provide below several examples from the *One-volume Text of Secret Techniques of Military Ways* (*Hyōhō hijutsu ichimakisho* 兵法秘術一卷書) to illustrate its content. The text was created no later than the fourteenth century.

Prayer to “battle deities”: First of all, one wears a helmet and armour, carries a bow and arrows, washes hands and rinses the mouth, bows three times facing each of the four directions clasp both hands with the right index finger held up straight, and moves forward and back three times, saying: “Namu [I rely on the] ninety-eight thousand [number of *yaksha* demons] battle deities, two thousand eight hundred military heavenly deities, each of them please descend into (say name)’s body and protect!” Say this spell to battle deities seven times. The spell is as follows: “On ashuri kyatei haramitsu mun sowaka.”⁸⁵

The oral transmission says: As for knowing the sign that “battle deities” have come into presence, “spirit birds” at this time come flying and fly over our army. At this time, all warriors acquire power, their hearts become brave, and it is a way to communicate with the divine (?). One should have deep faith. “Spirit birds” are mountain doves. One should know that any other birds flying over the army are a great auspicious matter. It is especially auspicious when they fly over our army and enter enemy’s camp.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Spells in this work resemble Buddhist mantras. They begin with “on” (Sanskrit *om*) meaning “I believe,” and end with “sowaka” (Sanskrit *svāhā*), meaning “auspicious” or “hurray.”

⁸⁶ Ōtani Setsuko, “Hyōhō hijutsu ichimakisho,” in *Nihon koten gisho sōkan*, vol. 3, ed. Fukazawa Tōru (Gendai Shichō Shinsha, 2004), 33.

一、軍神勸請の事

先、甲冑を着し、弓箭を帯して、手をあらひ口をすすぎて、四方をのをの三度つつ礼して、左右の手を内縛して右の頭指をなをくたてて、三度去来して、南無九万八千の軍神二千八百の師の天等をのをの〈某甲〉が身の内に降詔して護持をたれ給へといひて、軍神の惣呪七反。呪に曰はく、俺阿修利伽帝波羅密咩ソハカ

口伝に云、軍神来臨の瑞相を知事は、その時に霊鳥とびきたりて我軍の上を渡行その時に、軍士悉力をつきていさみの心出来て神に通るはかり事はんべり。ふかく信心をいたすべし。霊鳥とは山鳩也。其外何に鳥にてもあれ、軍の上をとび行は大吉事と知べし。我が軍の上より敵の陣へ入は、殊に吉事なるべし。

Ceremony when one departs to battlefield: After putting on armour and taking weapons, one faces south and kneels three times, makes left hand into a fist and places it on waist, extends right hand straight and lowers it three times, pushes one's knee, and recites the divine spell seven times quickly. The spell is: "On kuro shittaheira mun shitsuri sowaka." The oral transmission says: At this time, starting with Taishaku [Buddhist protective deity defeating asuras] various battle deities come and settle in the gaps of this person's helmet and armour, removing fear of arrows shot by opponents. He will certainly win in the battle.⁸⁷

Battle cry to call battle deities: First, one faces the opponent's camp, shoots a turnip-shaped arrow and shouts. One starts weakly and ends strongly. Also, one starts thinly and ends loudly. [...] If one does it wrong, the battle deities do not come, and the demon's army comes and makes a curse, and on that day one loses the battle. The spell says: "On torei torei tara tara kyami han sowaka."

Battle cry to send battle deities away: One stretches the right arm straight, bends the middle finger in the middle part facing south, shouts strongly at the start and weakly at the end, loudly at first and thinly at the end. The spell says: "On ranka sottara sowaka" (twenty-one times).

The oral transmission says: This is a spell to send off the battle deities. It is called a winning battle cry.⁸⁸

Changing a bad day into auspicious day: When one attacks facing the enemy camp, a bad day changes into auspicious day. The spell is: "On rasha rasha reihei reihei sowaka."⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Ibid., 33-34.

一、戦場出立の作法の事

兵具着帯の後、南方にむかひて三度ふしをがみて、左手を拳につくりて腰に按じて、右手をなをくのべたてて、三度たれくだして、ひざををして、神呪七反ひそかになへよ。呪に曰く、俺俱呂室駄吠羅咩室哩ソハカ

口伝に云、此時に帝釈天より始たてまつりて、諸の軍神来て、この人の甲冑のひまひまに入居給て、敵の射矢の恐なからしむ。かならずその軍にかつべし。

⁸⁸ Ibid., 37-38.

一、軍神勧請の時作音声の事

先づ、敵陣に向て上矢のかぶらを射懸て声をあぐるを、時つくと云也。始よはく終つよく、又、始ほそく終たかくつくるべし。(略)時のつくり様だにも違、軍神は来たり給はで、魔軍来て障碍をなす間、その日の軍に負べし。呪に曰く、俺都靈々々陀羅々々伽美[Sanskrit letter symbol of Dainichi Nyorai read as *han* ハン]ソハカ

一、軍神奉送の時作音声の事

右の手をなをくはりたてて、中指を中のふしより屈して、南方に向て、はじめつよくおはりよはく、又はじめたかくおはりほそく作て、呪に曰く、俺覽訶卒多羅ソハカ 廿一反

口伝に云、此は軍神を送る惣呪也。是を勝時と名也。

⁸⁹ Ibid., 43.

一、悪日転じて吉日と成事

敵陣にむかひ敵をうつに、悪日還て吉日となる。呪に曰く、俺羅謝々々靈吠々々ソハカ

Other sections include secret techniques and spells for disappearing and hiding, avoiding injuries, avoiding being killed, removing fear even if faced by innumerable enemies by means of divine protection, voodoo-like techniques (saying spells and putting needles into the chest and eyes of dolls representing enemies), avoiding an enemy's curse (and returning it back), freezing water and melting ice, avoiding drowning, making enemies slow in using weapons, making enemy castles fall (by spells repeated in a specific direction), escaping from fire, etc.

This kind of “forty-two article” text came to be called the *Tiger Volume* (*Tora no maki* 虎之巻) from the Muromachi period, or later. The literary scholar, Ōtani Setsuko, discussing the origins of this title mentions—in addition to the common parallel between qualities of a fierce tiger and those of a general—a number of texts related to this work that contain lists of items required for transmission ceremonies in military studies. The list given in the *Text of Spiritual Omens of Military Ways* (*Hyōhō reizuisho* 兵法靈瑞書, 1416) includes a sword, bow, sake, scroll stand, and other items, such as several tiger skins to be spread on the floor. This tradition is described in late medieval and early modern manuscripts. For example, the mid-Edo manuscript the *Secret Scroll of Military Ways* (*Hyōhōhikan* 兵法秘巻) depicts a person reading a scroll while sitting on a tiger skin. Apparently, this practice became customary and its origins possibly go back to yin-yang esoteric beliefs. The time of transmission was chosen to fall on the day of the tiger and the hour of the tiger. The hour of the tiger (three to five AM) is associated with the beginning or start of activities, and is considered a sacred time. Activities of *yamabushi* ascetics and Shinto ceremonies commonly start at this time of day. In addition, a link is suggested between the “forty-two article” text and the Buddhist deity, Bishamonten of the Kurama temple. The legendary transmission history of the text includes Kibi no Makibi bringing it to Kurama and offering it to Bishamonten, who in turn transmits it to others in response to prayers. Later,

the famous general Yoshitsune received the text from Kiichi Hōgen of the Kurama temple, with some accounts even suggesting that Yoshitsune himself was a reincarnation of Bishamonten—a deity associated with tiger symbolism. All these elements likely played a part in the link between the “forty-two article” text and the title, “Tiger volume.”

In the medieval period, possession of this text with its spells and magical content was believed to grant victory and control of the state.⁹⁰ Evidence suggests that Ashikaga shoguns believed in yin-yang techniques, and were initiated into the text as youths of sixteen to twenty-one years of age, which was likely part of a martial rite of passage symbolizing Ashikaga’s control of the land. Traces of this attitude are found in the noh play *Kurama tengu*, in which supernatural *tengu* creatures initiate Yoshitsune into the secrets of military ways so that he destroys the Heike and takes control of the state. The “forty-two article” text, meant to be secretly transmitted to a single person, was gradually spread to three disciples and even wider later on. Such wide circulation resulted in the loss of the original value and authority of the text, as well as its vulgarization and theatrical dramatization.⁹¹ A similar fate was typical for a number of formerly secret texts during the Edo period, and this process coincided with other transitional trends that marginalized medieval military ways and gave rise to a new current of military studies, emphasizing planning and human effort.

Another major influential text of medieval and early Edo military ways is *Kin’etsushū* 訓閲集, with unclear legendary origins and medieval transmission centred on the Ōe family and the Ogasawara family, interacting with the court and Ashikaga shoguns during the medieval period. In the early Edo period, Okamoto Nobunari 岡本宣就 (1575-1657) was the prominent

⁹⁰ Ōtani Setsuko, “*Chōryō ichinomakisho denju tan kō: yōkyoku Kurama tengu no haikai*,” in *Muromachi bungei ronkō*, ed. Tokue Gensei (Miyai Shoten, 1991), 309-317.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 325-326.

figure involved in *Kin'etsushū*-based military studies. His activity reached its peak during the 1620s to 1640s, when he transmitted many pre-Edo texts to his disciples, including Obata Kagenori 小幡景憲 (1572-1663), the founder of the Kōshū-ryū 甲州流 school which became the root for other major schools of the Edo period. After the early decades of the Edo period, this type of military studies was gradually marginalized by new schools, and yet the Okamoto family continued to serve lords as advisors (*gunshi* 軍師), and to occupy important posts serving the Ii daimyo family. In the Hikone domain, for example, this scholarship continued until the Meiji period, and lectures on *Kin'etsushū* were conducted in the late eighteenth century.⁹²

Transmission information contained in various manuscripts shows that apart from main lineages centred on the Ogasawara family, the text or its parts and variants also passed through the hands of Mount Kōya monks in the sixteenth century, were spread in the Tōhoku region through the efforts of local monks in the early Edo period, and were also maintained by the renowned Mizutori 水鳥 family of experts in the practices and customs of warrior houses, who served lords and high-ranking bakufu members until the Meiji era.

Kin'etsushū content includes rites and ceremonies, as well as etiquette related to weapons and equipment. Overall, it can be described as a representative work about late medieval military ways. The content was a secretly transmitted text (*hiden* 秘伝, *hisho* 秘書) of techniques valued by military scholars and generals since medieval times. The version compiled by Okamoto Nobunari in 1631 consists of eighty-five chapters that can be divided into four parts: “heavenly offices” (*tenkan* 天官) on types of divination by day, time, direction, stars, and clouds; “human matters” (*jinji* 人事) on castles, siege, and camps; “weapons and tools” on fans, flags, bows,

⁹² Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 77-78.

swords, and horses; and the appended “forty-two article” text containing the esoteric spells described above.

The existence of dozens of versions with a similar type of content arranged in a different order suggests that transmission since the medieval times took place not necessarily in the form of a single package, but usually as smaller parts circulating separately and later compiled under the *Kin'etsushū* title. Some versions of the text indicate in which order individual sections were to be taught, for example, by dividing the text into three stages and a top secret portion. The 1668 index arranges the content into three levels: introduction, intermediary, and high (*sho* 初, *chū* 中, *jō* 上).⁹³

Divination-based medieval military ways developed from Buddhist and Daoist (yin-yang, five elements) concepts, and from the magical spells as seen above in the *Kin'etsushū* content. The belief in the control or effect of heavenly phenomena on human life came to influence military techniques aimed at determining or foreseeing the eventual winner. Interestingly, divination by the sun during the mid-Muromachi period was based on the movement of the natural astronomical sun, and was tied with sun worship. The development linking the Sun goddess, Amaterasu, and imperial mythology took place under the influence of Shinto ideas and texts about Amaterasu and the first Emperor, Jinmu 神武天皇 (711-585 BCE, r. 660-585 BCE), in the *Nihon shoki*. Nevertheless, the peak of the sun-centred ideology within military studies took place in the early Edo period, coinciding with the rise in historical and literary studies and with the late seventeenth-century Shinto boom.⁹⁴ This thinking exerted a strong influence on Edo-period military studies.

⁹³ Ibid., 96.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 115.

The above overview of several typical pre-Edo military texts shows that medieval warrior thinking was profoundly permeated by esoteric Buddhist and Shinto concepts. These kinds of teachings that relied on divination, spells, and other supernatural techniques, were gradually marginalized in the Edo period, although they did not disappear completely, as can be seen from the texts of other schools of military studies that had to criticize the excessive reliance of some warriors on divination and other practices. The commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* discussed later also mention and criticize supernatural esoteric techniques such as those described above. Medieval esoteric texts and practices still exerted a strong influence on early-Edo warrior thinking. They formed part of the intellectual background that must be taken into account when examining premodern texts related to warriors.

2.7 Military Studies in Japan before the Edo Period

In the following discussion, I consider the history of military studies, focusing on the medieval period, in order to explain the basis of this field and the state in which it entered into the Edo period. The early-Edo period, when numerous military studies commentaries on earlier texts were created, was a transitional era during which new trends interacted with practices and ideas inherited from the past. Knowledge of the pre-Edo history of this field helps to situate early-Edo commentaries and treatises in their context, and to better understand their rhetoric and purpose.

The most comprehensive research on military studies in Japan is a two-volume study published in 1972 by the historian Ishioka Hisao (*Nihon heihōshi*), and a seven-volume anthology of texts published by Ishioka as general editor in 1967 (*Nihon heihō zenshū*). These studies are pioneer works on the subject, and they present the results of decades of research that

has been conducted since the mid-1930s. These works are not widely known or cited outside of Japan, although they introduce in great detail a significant layer of intellectual history materials of the medieval and early modern periods. Over the past decades, Japanese scholars studying different aspects of the early modern period have referred frequently to these studies, and have further investigated primary materials from this domain.

Ishioka himself laments in the preface that this sphere has been ignored by historians, who viewed military studies as having to do with practical techniques that concern only professional soldiers, and thus present no scholarly interest.⁹⁵ On the contrary, he argues that military studies in a wide sense reach beyond mere technique, and include the rules or norms regulating warrior life, both in terms of physical and spiritual behaviour, and during times of both war and peace. Moreover, true military studies have both “civil” (*bun* 文) and “martial” (*bu* 武) elements—the “martial” by itself without the “civil” aspect was commonly seen as violence, crime, and disorder—and form an important part of Japanese cultural history. In the Edo period in particular, military studies formed a system of education (*kyōiku taiei* 教育体系), and with an admixture of various elements they were established as an educational scholarship system (*kyōikuteki gakumon taiei* 教育的学問体系) for warrior-officials.⁹⁶

The person credited with the transmission of early military studies from the continent to Japan is Kibi no Makibi, who went twice to China in the Nara period (710-794 CE). Although no transfer of texts is mentioned in the history text *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (797), there is a record indicating that the court sent six warriors to Dazaifu in 760 in order to study under Kibi the “Nine Terrains” (*kyūchi* 九地) from *Sunzi’s Art of War*—that is, a chapter on the arrangement of

⁹⁵ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

an army, based on different types of terrain. Kibi was in charge of building castles and coastal defences, since an expedition against Silla was planned at that time. The *Nihon shoki* mentions that in 671, even prior to Kibi, four military specialists arrived in Japan from Paekche after its fall. They built forts or castles in Japan, although it is not clear whether they knew Chinese military texts or relied on their own knowledge and techniques.⁹⁷

Ishioka claims that since antiquity, the Japanese had their own military ways which enabled the first emperor Jinmu to gain Yamato, as described in the *Nihon shoki*. For example, the discomfort that people experience when they face the sun in battle was given the sacral meaning of going against the Heavenly Way (*tendō* 天道) and losing, whereas having the sun behind one's back was interpreted as having the support of the sun deity, Amaterasu (*Nichijin* 日神), resulting in victory. Such beliefs of the ancient Japanese are incorporated in the *Nihon shoki* account of emperor Jinmu who won battling westward. This legendary episode was transmitted together with *Nihon shoki* studies, and eventually had great influence during the Edo period as a guiding principle of Japanese military studies.⁹⁸

Yin-yang, Five Elements, astrology, star divination and other elements formed part of Japanese medieval military ways, although their roots seem to stretch back to the Nara period, or even earlier. The *Nihon shoki* mentions Paekche astrology and the links between divination and medical cures. Zen Buddhism transmitted during the Nara period was mixed with local magical and esoteric beliefs, resulting in the mountain ascetic practice of *shugendō* 修験道, which later strongly influenced medieval Japanese military ways. Astronomy, yin-yang, calendrical science, and medicine were all treated as important matters of the state, and were referred to as

⁹⁷ Ibid., 5-6.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 8-9.

“necessities of the state” (*kokka shoyō* 国家所要) in emperor Kōken’s edict of 757. Yin-yang heavily influenced Heian society, and families of yin-yang masters, such as the hereditary Kamo and Abe clans, were able to rise to prominence, while claiming descent from Kibi no Makibi. Yin-yang and Five Elements were also practiced widely in Tendai and Shingon temples.⁹⁹

During the Heian era, Chinese military texts, especially *Sunzi’s Art of War*, were actively studied by intellectuals and literati.¹⁰⁰ The earliest Japanese catalogue of Chinese texts, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (891 CE), lists numerous works in the “Military scholars” (*heika* 兵家) section, including *The Methods of the Sima*, *Sunzi’s Art of War*, *Six Secret Teachings*, and many others. Texts on astronomy, yin-yang and Five Elements were objects of scholarly interest as well, and the same catalogue contains texts on divination by astrology and weather. The “Astronomy scholars” (*tenmonka* 天文家) section lists, for example, the *Book on Astronomical Divination* (Ch. *Tianwen zhanshu*, J. *Tenmon sensho* 天文占書) and *Divination on Meteors* (Ch. *Liuxingzhan*, J. *Ryūseisen* 流星占). The “Five Elements scholars” (*gogyōka* 五行家) section lists the *Great Meaning of Five Elements* (Ch. *Wuxingdayi*, J.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 10. In China, yin-yang and Five Elements practices were especially popular in the Warring States and Han eras. In Japan, the rise in similar beliefs coincided with the spread of yin-yang practices were used for military purposes. Its influence on military matters was probably a particular application of a much wider social phenomenon.

¹⁰⁰ As for the transmission of Chinese military studies, late medieval and early modern scholars and schools believed in semi-legendary accounts, according to which the Ōe 大江 family essentially had a monopoly on transmission. This extended to the Genji 源氏 family, since Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111) taught the general Minamoto no Yoshiie (1039-1106). Interestingly, the overall transmission of Chinese military studies, even if based on legends still believed to be true, was seen as follows in Japan:

Deity of war of Indian origin, Marishiten 摩利支天 – [Three emperors] Fuxi 伏羲 – Shennong 神農 – Huang Di 黃帝 (Yellow Emperor of the Five Emperors) – Yao 堯 – Shun 舜 – Tangwang 湯王 – Laozi 老子 – Taigong Wang 太公望 – Huang Shigong 黃石公 – Zhang Liang 張良 – Lutaogong 屨陶公 then transmitted to the 15th Japanese Emperor Ōjin 応神 (200-310 CE, r. 270-310), identified with the deity of war Hachiman 八幡, but destroyed at death; in China, transmission continued for generations until Ōe no Koretoki (888-963) went to Tang to study, then knowledge was transmitted within the Ōe family to Ōe no Masafusa, etc. An additional parallel line of transmission is linked to Kibi no Makibi, who brought texts from Tang China, kept them secret without transmission within his family, and deposited them in Kurama Temple. Later in the twelfth century, the yin-yang master Kiichi Hōgen 鬼一法眼 obtained them and transmitted to Kurama monks and General Minamoto no Yoshitsune.

Gogyōtaigi 五行大義), *Book of Changes Stalk Divination* (Ch. *Zhouyishi*, J. *Shūekizei* 周易筮), *Newly Selected Yin-Yang Texts* (Ch. *Xinzhuan yinyangshu*, J. *Shinsen in'yōsho* 新撰陰陽書) and many other works. Also listed in the “Military scholars” section are works thought to be related to divination, such as the *Clouds and Ethers Art of War* (Ch. *Yunqi bingfa*, J. *Unki heihō* 雲気兵法). Even if not all such texts on astrology and Five Elements influenced later military ways in Japan, it is a fact that many ideas and techniques of this kind were incorporated in the medieval period.¹⁰¹

It is unclear since precisely when astrology-based divination that regulated all spheres of life and human activities during the Heian period came to be applied to the military sphere. One early example can be found in the historical chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (*Mirror of the East*, ca. 1300) account of Minamoto no Yoritomo having divination using bones and bamboo stalks (*bokuzei* 卜筮) performed in 1180/8 to determine the day for attacking Izu and for starting his revolt. Divination for military purposes gradually developed, mixed with Buddhist, Daoist, *shugendō* and popular beliefs, resulting in the so-called “military divination” (*gunbai hyōhō* 軍配 [軍敗] 兵法) of the Muromachi period.¹⁰² Around the middle of the sixteenth century, military divination fans (*gunbai uchiwa* 軍配団扇) came to be used with divination diagrams depicted on their surface. As explained by Ishioka,

The divination diagram (*hidorizu* 日取図) had Sanskrit letters representing Diamond Realm Vairocana Buddha (Kongōkai Dainichi Nyorai 金剛界大日如来) written in the middle of a circle, with the circumference divided into twelve parts for twelve months and twelve signs of the zodiac, the area outside of the circle had twenty-eight white and red dots representing twenty-eight constellations in the heaven whose turning was the basis of divination. This method was linked with astronomical phenomena, and the good

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 11-12.

¹⁰² Ibid., 15.

or bad fortune for day, time, and direction was determined by observing heavenly bodies and weather conditions (clouds). [...] A general carried this divination fan in the camp, using it himself to judge the fortune of time for battle. Also, trusted designated people were also allowed to manage this procedure in the general's headquarters and decide when to do battle. These people who functioned as advisors were called *gunbaisha* 軍敗者.¹⁰³

For example, General Takeda Shingen famously used such a fan during the Kawanakajima battle against General Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530-1578) in 1561.

The syncretic character of medieval warrior beliefs is mentioned in a recent study by the literary scholar Saeki Shin'ichi on "war deities" (*ikusagami* 軍神) to whom warriors prayed for victory. The set of such deities was highly diverse and included Indra (*Taishakuten* 帝釈天) fighting asuras, Marishiten 摩利支天, esoteric Shinto-Buddhist deities, Bishamonten, Kannon, Benzaiten, Amida, Jizō, and many non-traditional and local deities. The list of deities is not systematic, which suggests that the choice of deities depended on warriors' origins, preferences, purpose of prayer, etc. As suggested by Saeki, in the medieval period Japanese local *kami* beliefs, esoteric Buddhism and *shugendō* ascetic practices, and yin-yang and other beliefs, formed a complicated syncretic fusion, and in response to warriors' earnest demands for victory in battle, civilian religious figures created various magical beliefs.¹⁰⁴ These syncretic beliefs are corroborated by material evidence such as sword and blade engravings. The Japanese Sword Museum (*Tōken hakubutsukan* 刀剣博物館) in Tokyo held an exposition of swords called "Shape of Prayer: Engravings on Blades and Sword Fittings" (*Inori no katachi: tōshin chōkoku to tōsōgu* 祈りのかたち～刀身彫刻と刀装具) from January to May 2014. As this exhibition

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Saeki Shin'ichi, "Ikusagami kō" [Investigation of the term "Ikusagami" (god of war)], *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* 182 (January 2014).

showed, swords from the Kamakura and Muromachi periods were engraved with religious symbols associated with Shinto-Buddhist deities, esoteric Buddhism, and mountain ascetic practices. Common engravings included Sanskrit letters for deities such as the bodhisattvas, Hachiman, Bishamonten, or Marishiten, and images of a Kurikara dragon (from Indian and Chinese mythology) wrapped around a sword representing the Buddhist protective deity Acala (Fudō Myōō 不動明王). Sword fittings integrated designs with Ebisu, Daikoku, Chinese deities, crows (as a good omen of Emperor Jinmu, or a messenger of the gods for mountain ascetics), Mount Fuji, etc. Numerous deities, buddhas, and dragons venerated by medieval warriors were engraved on blades to serve as prayers for the protection or consolation of the spirits of defeated enemies. It seems that smiths engraved the names or symbols of the deities that they worshipped. In the Edo period, the sword engravings maintained the medieval trend of retaining esoteric imagery and content, although their decorative function gradually came to dominate due to improvements in metalworking.

The late medieval period in Japan was a time of gradual transition from mostly magic- or divination-based military ways, to worldlier counselling on strategy, centred on planning and human effort. A telling example is the Ashikaga academy (*Ashikaga gakkō* 足利学校), which was run by Zen monks with a curriculum oriented strongly around Confucian classics. The academy functioned as an educational institution for raising military advisors (*gunshi* 軍師), whose services were in great demand by the daimyo lords of the Warring States period. In addition to general knowledge of Confucian texts, practical skills in medicine, and castle-building, the main purpose of the institution was to have students master the *Book of Changes* (Ch. *Yijing*, J. *Ekikyō* 易經) in order to be employed by lords as divination experts.

The role of military advisors and the content of their work changed during the Warring States period. The focus shifted from divination procedures to planning. The historian Owada Tetsuo proposes that the former ones be referred to as “military advisors” (*gunshi*), and that the latter, “counselors (in a war council)” (*sanbō* 参謀). Both types had knowledge of the Chinese military classics and applied it to actual battles and planning. However, the new *sanbō* counselors stopped relying on prayers, divination, and other esoteric ceremonies, and gave priority to this-worldly and practical approaches. An example of such new counselors are Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522-1591), who served the daimyo and General Toyotomi Hideyoshi as their confidant (known primarily as a tea master). Another example is the Buddhist priest Tenkai 天海 (1536-1643) who served Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) as his aide and consultant.¹⁰⁵

The literary scholar Fukazawa Tōru suggests that during this transition, former esoteric texts of “military ways” (*heihō*, *hyōhō* 兵法) were discarded and abandoned as the demand rose for military studies (*heigaku*, *hyōgaku* 兵学), which were understood as the science of state administration, governance, and politics. It appears, however, that the process was likely continued over many decades, with significant elements from the earlier tradition maintained in a modified form throughout the Edo period.

The seventeenth century was in many ways closer to the medieval period than to the mid- and late-Edo period. This point is indirectly confirmed by a curious circumstance noted by Fukazawa Tōru about the calendar reform that literally stopped “medieval time” in 1685. The Senmyōreki 宣明暦 calendar created in Tang China was used in Japan continuously from 862 to

¹⁰⁵ Fukazawa Tōru, “Gisho to ‘hyōhō,’” in *Nihon koten gisho sōkan*, vol. 3, ed. Fukazawa Tōru (Gendai Shichō Shinsha, 2004), 256.

1684. A two-day mismatch between the calendar and astronomical events was noticed in the early Edo period, and it was replaced by a new Jōkyōreki 貞享暦 calendar in 1685. This reform also introduced one unified calendar across Japan instead of the many local Senmyōreki-based calendars which contained errors. Also, as a result of this reform, the bakufu, and not the imperial court, came to be in charge of the calendar. The Confucian philosopher and military scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) was political advisor to the bakufu official and chief minister of the Genroku era (1688-1704), Lord Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳沢吉保 (1658-1714). Sorai wrote texts for the shogun contributing to the formation of military studies as political scholarship.¹⁰⁶ The intellectual historian Maruyama Masao credits Sorai with the “discovery of politics” and the beginning of a modern political consciousness in Japan that started in the Jōkyō era (1684-1688). It is hardly a coincidence that the major calendar reform took place in 1685. The social impact of this event affected many groups of people. The calendar’s authority and trust in it as the standard measure had gradually been declining prior to the reform, and the social status of people dependent on the calendar also dropped. This group consisted of yin-yang masters, old-style military advisors (*gunshi*), *shugendō* ascetics, divination masters, garden designers, leather artisans, and others. Many of them sought to restore the lost authority and social trust by worshipping figures such as Kibi no Makibi and the yin-yang master, Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921-1005 CE), as their own ancestors.¹⁰⁷ The link between divination-based military ways and the medieval Senmyōreki calendar was the figure of Kibi no Makibi, who was

¹⁰⁶ Peter Flueckiger claims that Sorai understood Confucianism as a philosophy of rulership and viewed literary activities, such as poetry, as key to the practice of the Confucian Way, by emphasizing their political and philosophical role. See Peter Flueckiger, *Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy, and Community in Mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Fukazawa also notes the parallel between the change from esoteric “military ways” to political “military studies” in the late seventeenth century, and the change from the medieval view of military specialists or martial arts experts as “artisans” (*shokunin* 職人) to the new status as “rulers, political officials” (*iseisha* 為政者). This claim is made by the historian Takahashi Masaaki in *Bushi no seiritsu: bushizō no sōshutsu* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999).

considered to be the founder of calendar science, and simultaneously as one of the founding figures in the history of military teachings in Japan. The 1685 calendar change damaged the authority of people relying on the calendar by undermining their legends and traditions, and as a result they were forced into the margins of society. Subsequent attempts were made to reshape or recycle these traditions by adding Confucian elements, for example.¹⁰⁸

In the Edo period, military studies were established without a sharp break, integrating some of the various medieval elements outlined above. During the era of peace which gradually formed since 1615, warrior society looked back on events of the previous age and studied its military ways as well as administrative policies. Rooted in the worship of the famous generals of the medieval past, especially Minamoto no Yoshitsune and Kusunoki no Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336), various currents of military studies that claimed descent from these figures were gradually established as scholarly organizations involved in the education of the Edo-period warrior class.¹⁰⁹ It is difficult to determine the origins of numerous schools shrouded in legends; however, their number increased from the late medieval to early Edo period. In addition to five major schools having a long tradition of transmission in the Edo period and a wide geographical spread across Japan, that is, Kōshū-ryū 甲州流, Echigo-ryū 越後流, Hōjō-ryū 北条流, Naganuma-ryū 長沼流, and Yamaga-ryū 山鹿流, there were many other schools widely ranging in scope and influence. *Heika keizu* 兵家系図 (*Lineages of Military Scholars*), a manuscript catalogue of such schools created in 1808 by the Kōshū-ryū master Masaki Teruo 正木輝雄 (?-1824), as well as other manuscripts recording transmission lineages, show that the total number

¹⁰⁸ Fukazawa Tōru, “Gisho to ‘hyōhō,’” in *Nihon koten gisho sōkan*, vol. 3, 243-244, 258-259.

¹⁰⁹ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 16.

of schools reached about one hundred, including split branches of schools and even some “schools of one person.”¹¹⁰

In the discussion above, I have outlined the history of military teachings in ancient and medieval Japan, focusing on texts, their cultural background, and the importance of divination. Next, I will consider the topic of warrior education and military studies in the Edo period, especially the seventeenth century.

2.8 Warrior Education in the Edo Period

The topic of warrior education in the Edo period has been examined briefly in several English-language studies that survey the context and briefly describe military studies. Donald H. Shively discusses the *Laws for the Military Houses* (*Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度) issued to daimyo lords in 1615 for their own guidance and the direction of their retainers, which advocate warriors being equally prepared in the literary and civil arts (*bun* 文), including moral teachings, and in the military arts (*bu* 武).¹¹¹ Shively explains the Tokugawa bakufu policy of punishing daimyo for maladministration, which occurred particularly in the seventeenth century: “daimyo and *hatamoto* who could not learn to administer benevolently or practice moderation in their expenditures and in the conduct of their personal lives were in jeopardy.”¹¹² This kind of bakufu control and the advantage of education for gaining appointment to supervisory work were powerful incentives for the daimyo to acquire the knowledge to govern wisely. Acquisition of education was encouraged by the bakufu and daimyo, but he notes:

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 17.

¹¹¹ Donald H. Shively, “Popular culture,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 4: Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 716.

¹¹² Ibid.

[R]ather than establish schools, they were at first more inclined to attract and subsidize scholars under whom their retainers could study. Acquiring an education was a personal matter, undertaken as an act of self-cultivation. Most bushi children were educated at home by tutors or were taught in small groups by a Buddhist monk or a samurai man or woman. [...] Bushi who sought more than a basic education continued their studies with a tutor in the domain or sought permission to study under a scholar in Edo or Kyoto.¹¹³

The content of such education included literacy in Chinese and Japanese, and the study of the Chinese classics and histories, etiquette, and military arts. Shively also quotes a model program of study, perhaps designed for the sons of upper-class warrior families, as outlined in the 1670 work *A Mirror for Descendants* (*Shison kagami* 子孫鑑):

Those born to a bushi family should have lessons in sequence as follows: first, from ages seven to eight, practice in writing the first characters; from eleven, twelve, or thirteen, reading the words of the Four [Confucian] Books, and also learning tea ceremony, deportment, recitation of noh, and playing the noh hand drum; from fourteen to seventeen, defensive fencing [*iai*], swordsmanship, handling the spear, horseriding, archery, musketry, and next falconry and board games [*go*, chess, and backgammon]; and from eighteen or nineteen, military administration, tactics, the composition of Chinese and Japanese poetry, and medicine.¹¹⁴

Thus, disciplines that were part of military studies were considered to be an advanced stage in the typical curriculum for the warrior elite, and were studied essentially by adults.

The sociologist Ronald P. Dore, in his 1965 monograph on education in the Edo period, describes the military aspect of the traditional curriculum (which also included Chinese studies and sciences) in the fief schools (*hankō* 藩校) of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, as follows:

The military side of the school curriculum also had its bookish element. There were some seven major schools of *heigaku* (兵学)—military studies—and a number of minor ones, each with their own texts and oral traditions. These texts, written by the founders of the various schools, were sometimes in Chinese, sometimes in Japanese, sometimes lengthy expositions, sometimes little more than notes on which to pin oral explanations. They

¹¹³ Ibid., 717.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

mixed practical advice on the development of troops, the building of fortifications, moving camp, mobilizing supplies, military gamesmanship and the like, with a great deal of moral advice on the importance of using force only in just wars, or of character-training as the sole means to military success, and not a little mystical discussion of the nature of military luck. They quoted liberally from Sun Tzu and the other Chinese military classics, and it was these Chinese originals which the serious student often went on to read. The teachers of *heigaku*, however, were somewhat outside the ambience of Confucianism proper [...] These studies, however, were only for the upper samurai. For the vast majority military studies meant acquiring certain physical skills.¹¹⁵

Both Shively and Dore mention that upper-class warriors were expected to study a mixture of practical and moral advice consisting of “military administration, tactics” and “*heigaku*”. The intellectual historian Kasai Sukeharu also states that during the Warring States period, all daimyo competed with each other, seeking to invite specialists in strategy who served as lecturers and advisors. Throughout the Edo period as well, military studies were considered a compulsory subject for warriors of high status who occupied important posts. Daimyo invited scholars and had them deliver lectures to the daimyo themselves, and to domain warriors. Military studies were limited to the domain lord who was the direct current ruler and the potential general in a case of crisis, his clansmen, domain warriors of high level, and their heirs.¹¹⁶

Following this brief explanation of the position of military studies in warrior education during the Edo period, I consider the intended audience of military studies and provide an overview of major schools.

¹¹⁵ Ronald P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 148-149.

¹¹⁶ Kasai Sukeharu, *Kinsei hankō ni okeru shuppansho no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), 638-639.

2.9 Schools of Military Studies in the Edo Period

Early and medieval military studies in Japan, as summarized above, were strongly influenced by Chinese military texts as well as by the yin-yang and Five Elements thought tied with astrology and the calendar, which permeated medieval culture beyond military matters. This body of knowledge was not static, and new ideas were developed in the local Japanese context and under influence from local history and beliefs. For example, schools of military studies were developed around the names and activities of the famous generals Minamoto no Yoshitsune and Kusunoki no Masashige.

Although modern scholars tend to group all kinds of warriors into a “warrior class” or simply as “warriors,” for the sake of brevity or clarity, or as a simplified generalization, in premodern Japan there was a vertical hierarchy which defined duties and required skills. Knowledge of military studies and its practical application was mainly the job of generals, that is, top-level warrior-officials such as daimyo lords. Traditionally, the whole point was to keep the general’s plans and maneuvers secret from adversaries, and even from his own officers and troops. Even if some concepts and techniques were studied by a wider group of people (such as mid-level officers, literati, and Zen monks who could serve as advisors), the main purpose of the texts and their study was to prepare the top leaders and generals who would make decisions and plans. Thus, military studies needed to involve esoteric knowledge and different levels of initiation. This point is also made by Kasai Sukeharu, who notes that military studies were considered a compulsory subject for high-ranking warriors who held high posts. For example, the study of military studies was intended in general for domain lords (in case of crisis or war, they were responsible for strategy, planning, and direct leadership), their close retainers and

clansmen, and domain warriors of high level and their heirs.¹¹⁷ In other words, a general and his top officers (who in peacetime were the daimyo and top administrators of a domain) were the target audience of texts and lectures on military studies. This separation within the hierarchy of warriors suggests a division of labour in which most of the planning and strategy is left to a few people on top. Of course, over time, wider layers of warriors came to study the texts, some of which were published (especially those intended for beginner-level disciples). However, this process of broader circulation should still be seen as gradual permeation from the top downwards. As a rule, military studies texts were studied under a master, and there were multiple levels of knowledge from basic to advanced. This system naturally limited most disciples to lower levels, with only a few reaching the top level. I emphasize that even a daimyo lord read a beginner-level text when he was a novice—usually a teenager, although one could start at any age—studying some school’s teachings under a master, and would later progress to a higher level. In other words, it is incorrect to assume that introductory texts, more often published than secret high-level manuscripts, were intended only for low-level warriors. In general, advancing from one level to another required several years, while full transmission sometimes took decades and was intended only for those who became the next master (often, only the single best disciple would continue the transmission).

The education of warriors depended on their level, and military studies were intended mostly for upper-level warriors. Some of the *Seven Military Classics* and Japanese military studies commentaries examined later warn against relying on divination, but also advise generals and rulers to maintain divination techniques as a means of controlling warriors and people in general. Apparently, some military studies writers were convinced that divination and other-worldly concepts were useful in the Edo period. I would suggest that the existence of a rather

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 639.

sharp division between top warriors (and perhaps some mid-level ones too) and the more numerous low-level ones, including commoners who were also mobilized during the Warring States era and potentially mobilized during the Edo period, may help account for the continuity of divination or yin-yang techniques as part of warrior education. In fact, at least among military studies scholars, these techniques were considered useful in society as they were acceptable ways of dealing with matters believed by many people to be beyond human control. At first glance, this may appear to be manipulative, but it was likely seen as one of the most efficient ways to organize and maintain order in society, even for an honest ruler with good intentions. Further research is required to determine the limits of the practical application of divination and similar techniques in premodern Japan.

In the Edo period, the medieval “military ways” (*heihō, hyōhō* 兵法) were developed into military studies (*heigaku, hyōgaku* 兵学)—a system of scholarship for educating warriors in the context of peace, who were to become administrators and rulers. In his two-volume study, Ishioka traces five major schools formed in early Edo, developing and spreading for a long time through the Edo period until the Meiji era. At the root of such major schools was Obata Kagenori (1572-1663), whose active research laid the foundation for Edo-period scholarship in this field. Before 1621, he established the Kōshū-ryū 甲州流 school. His disciple Hōjō Ujinaga went on to found the Hōjō-ryū 北条流 school. Yamaga Sokō was a disciple of both Kagenori and Ujinaga, and his works were later taken as the basis of the Yamaga-ryū 山鹿流 school. Sawazaki Kagezane (1625-83) established the Echigo-ryū 越後流 school, and other major schools were also established in the seventeenth century—a time of great activity in military studies, and also a time of major transition from the late medieval to the early modern period (after all, even in the latter half of the century, there were still many witnesses of the late medieval, pre-Edo era).

Various schools that intermittently existed since the late medieval period numbered more than sixty: they spread in domains during the Edo period, although few were able to survive continuously. Five major schools, centred on Edo as their base, spread to other domains across Japan.¹¹⁸ Ishioka analyzes the geographical distribution of the schools across domains, and concludes that the Kōshū-ryū school had the widest distribution, followed by the Echigo-ryū, Yamaga-ryū, and Naganuma-ryū schools, and that the Hōjō-ryū school had the narrowest distribution among the top five schools. The Hōjō-ryū school was maintained by the Hōjō clan, who assumed high posts as bakufu vassals, and their school even held the status of the Shogun's military studies. It centred on Edo itself, and was found only in a small set of domains.¹¹⁹ Modern histories of the Edo period highlight the various changes that occurred, and the historical narrative leads to the fall of the Tokugawa system. However, despite the presence of such changes, we should not forget about the continuities as well. One such continuity is the overall prosperity of military studies schools that were active not only in the early Edo era, but continued to flourish until the Meiji era. The educational process built around their texts and lectures actively continued into the middle of the nineteenth century.

Apart from the five major schools, there were other schools that had a more local character and a shorter lifespan. The Yoshitsune-ryū school in the Fukui domain, or the Kusunoki-ryū school in the Sendai, Aizu, Nagoya, Kanazawa, and Kumamoto domains, were either interrupted or barely survived. The Kamiizumi-ryū school (上泉流), based on medieval divination, was maintained in the Hikone, Tottori, and Okayama domains. Although marginalized by the new and prosperous Hōjō-ryū or Yamaga-ryū schools, the transmission, lectures, and study of esoteric divination continued until the Meiji era. Additional details are

¹¹⁸ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 2, 397.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 403.

given in Appendix A. In the following section, I consider the publication of texts of various schools in the Edo period, and also briefly mention the changes that took place in the nineteenth century.

2.10 Publishing Military Studies Texts

Before discussing the publication of texts related to military studies, I emphasize that their publication was often not the main goal of writers: as in other fields with esoteric knowledge, the tendency is to limit readership. The fact that it was published may indicate that the text is an introductory treatise published as an advertisement to spread a school's teachings, or perhaps that the text is not related to any school, or was part of a school that disintegrated. As noted by Ishioka, each military studies school possessed a set of key texts that were mostly transmitted as manuscripts, and only some were published. In addition, each school possessed top secret knowledge to be transmitted personally (*kuden* 口伝) from master to selected disciples, and obviously such information was never published.¹²⁰

Early Edo publications of Chinese military classics, such as *Three Strategies* and *Six Secret Teachings*, were carried out upon the order of Tokugawa Ieyasu in the period between 1599 and 1606. These publications, known as Fushimi-ban, included eighty works—both Chinese and Japanese—dealing mostly with administration, history, and military studies. Also, in 1608, Ieyasu had the philosopher and advisor Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), who was twenty-five years old at the time, lecture the second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠

¹²⁰ Ibid., 410.

(1579-1632, r. 1605-1623), then twenty-nine years old, on Chinese military texts.¹²¹ Since 1615, Confucian scholars lectured on Chinese military texts and studied the *Taiheiki*.¹²² During the early Edo period, Chinese classics and their commentaries were often published, and new texts from Song and Ming China were reprinted and studied as well. In addition, the publication of Japanese medieval war tales also provided new material for discussions and commentaries related to military studies.

The circulation of military studies treatises expanded as more texts related to various schools were gradually published. The first wave of published texts consisted of works related to the Kusunoki-ryū school, centred on *Taiheiki*-related texts such as the *Selection of Secret Commentaries on the Chronicles of the Great Peace* (*Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō* 太平記評判秘伝理尽鈔) published in 1645. This trend was rooted in the widespread reading of the *Taiheiki* during the late medieval period, and the popular idolization of Kusunoki no Masashige

¹²¹ Ibid., 403. This can be seen as a continuation of the (late) medieval practice in which Zen Buddhist monks served as the main mentors of warriors. See Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku bushō o sodateta zensōtachi* (Shinchōsha, 2007). The historian Owada notes that Zen monks taught daimyo lords and their retainers the need for the Confucian policy of “benevolent government” (*jinsei* 仁政), persuading their disciples that the people cannot be ruled only by military force. Late medieval Zen was strongly mixed with Confucianism and provincial lords were taught both Confucian and military classics. Lords invited Zen monks to give such lectures in order to achieve social order and stable rule over their domains (pp. 22-29). Lords promoted education among their retainers (who were often teenage youths) by inviting learned monks and nobles. Zen temples also served as education centres for high and mid-level warriors where they studied “literacy” (Confucian classics, histories, military texts, poetry and courtly tales) for several years. The practice of lifetime learning by studying texts on different subjects on one’s own or by listening to personal lecturers was also typical (pp. 75-76). The unity and balance between the “civil” and the “martial” was valued long before the Edo period.

¹²² Ishioka describes this trend as “Confucian scholars discuss the military” (*juka danhei* 儒家談兵), although I think it may also be called “military scholars discuss Confucianism” (*heika danju* 兵家談儒), or even “military/political scholars discuss texts” (*heika dansho* 兵家談書). As described above, Chinese military classics often contain a mix of concepts and views from a number of schools such as Daoist, Confucian, Legalist, etc. The ideal of military studies was to include both “civil” and “martial” elements, as expressed in the widely used term, *bunbu* 文武. In medieval and early Edo Japan, perhaps the dominant view was a syncretic fusion of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism (*sankyō* 三教), which were distinguished not as opposites of each other, but rather as complementary ideologies. Thus, even if many educated people studied the Confucian classics, they were not Confucian scholars (*jugakusha* 儒学者). Moreover, scholars such as Wakao Masaki, Maeda Tsutomu, and Inoue Yasushi claim in recent studies that the main current of Edo-period ideology was closer to “military (political) studies.” And many, if not most, scholars currently agree that Neo-Confucianism rose to the status of state ideology quite late, only around the late eighteenth century.

who was pardoned in 1559 by the Emperor, and who was since then viewed as a loyal hero and not an “imperial enemy.” Similarly, respect toward ancient heroes and the study of their ways led to the early publication of texts linked to Minamoto no Yoshitsune, which were not tied to a particular school, and were widely shared. Publications in the middle of the seventeenth century included works on military divination, which were apparently popular in early Edo period. In the 1660s many texts of the Kōshū-ryū school related to the *Kōyō Military Mirror* (*Kōyō gunkan* 甲陽軍鑑, early Edo period) were published, as well as some texts of the Hōjō school. Many texts related to military studies texts and topics were published following the growing popularity and demand mostly among members of the warrior-official class, although it is hard to identify whether or not they belonged to any particular school.

During the period between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, military studies texts continued to be printed. In the 1680s, many texts of the Kusunoki-ryū school were published and were studied widely in military studies circles. Texts related to the *Kōyō gunkan* and the figure of Takeda Shingen, both analytical and critical, were often printed showing the development and prosperity of the Kōshū-ryū and other schools.¹²³

Interestingly, during the period between 1800 and the 1830s, publications of commoner literature and various fictional stories (*shōsetsu* 小説) rose quickly, while virtually no “military texts” (*heisho* 兵書) were published, with the exception of popular war tales, for unclear reasons. This fact, however, does not indicate an overall decline in military studies, since they were a kind of education mostly transmitted in secret among warrior disciples, that is, largely isolated from commoner culture and education.

¹²³ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 2, 410.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, faced with a new international situation and increased contacts with foreign nations, the problem of reforms certainly became acute, including reforms in the sphere of military studies. Naval defence, translation, and study of Western (Dutch) texts—including texts on gunnery and navy—were matters of urgent concern. For example, following the Opium War in China, the bakufu ordered Western-style musket troops to be tested and trained near the capital Edo in 1841, in addition to increased efforts to translate Western texts on scientific and military subjects.

Ishioka notes that Edo-period military studies, refined by Confucian and various Japanese ideologies, moved to a large extent in an educational direction aimed at the cultivation of certain spiritual, intellectual and ethical values, and modes of behaviour—some of which were idealistic. Under the closed socio-political system, this kind of warrior education was efficient and justified, but in the *bakumatsu* era it was no match for Western military studies that centred on technical skills and modern scientific approaches. It took some time for Japanese scholars and bakufu officials to realize the need for a swift reform, and the 1830s became a time of rapid acceleration in the translation of Western texts. Most translations were initially done in manuscript form, with the first publication of a translated text taking place in 1854.¹²⁴

Most schools of Japanese military studies lost practical value in the late Edo period, although the Naganuma-ryū school which focused on military drills was seen as a closer match with Western approaches. This school's influence in a number of domains rose in the late Edo period, making the subsequent shift to Western models easier. The late Edo period was a time of implementation of Western approaches, removing traditional disciplines, and introducing new ones. Individual domains conducted their own reforms as well, gradually substituting the texts of the main Japanese schools of military studies with Dutch, English, and French materials.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 419.

The changes started decades before the Meiji Restoration, and yet the traditional schools remained active for a surprisingly long time, showing how deep-rooted traditional military studies were in the Edo period, even in its final decades. Lists of disciples and manuscript copies of texts show that in Edo, and in domains, tens and hundreds of disciples continued to attend various schools and study their traditional curricula. Certificates, given to those who mastered a stage in the learning process or who studied a set of texts, were still actively issued to disciples, as late as the 1850s and even the 1860s (some are dated to the early Meiji years of 1868 to 1870). In contrast to the early Edo period when schools tended to maintain the purity of the transmission, avoiding exchange with other schools; a feature of the late Edo period was the incorporation of the strengths of numerous schools through active exchanges among them, and the acquisition of texts from many schools by a single disciple.¹²⁵

Edo-period military studies, as a philosophical and educational system based on East Asian military thought and Confucian education, helped sustain more than two centuries of peacetime warrior-official education, but in the end it was overpowered by new Western military studies based on science and technology. Some attempts were made to combine the teachings of the ancient sages with Western technology to form a “great scholarship of the imperial state” (*kōkoku no daigakumon* 皇国の大学問), as proposed by a scholar and politician from a warrior family, Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811-1864), for example.

Later in modern Japan, the study of past military studies as practiced in the Edo period was abandoned, although it is worth mentioning that many heroes of the *bakumatsu* era, as well as leaders and activists of the early Meiji era who built the basis of modern Japan, studied

¹²⁵ Ibid., 430-431.

traditional military studies in their youth, and it likely impacted their worldview, decisions, and policies.¹²⁶

The development of modern Japan is a topic beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it is worth noting that we must separate (or at least distinguish) the continued study of some texts such as *Sunzi's Art of War* in the first half of the twentieth century, discussions of the topic of *bushidō*, and claims made by militarist thinkers about the successful maintenance of Eastern martial spirit, from the kind of studies carried out by the warrior-officials of the Edo period in the mode of traditional military studies. The system of military studies scholarship was abandoned for the most part and likely could not be maintained in the modern context. Even if some selected traditional elements were kept, in a revised or exaggerated form, the shift to the study of radically new texts and values was so drastic that late Meiji and later military theory and practice should be considered a separate modern phenomenon with only remote links to premodern military studies.

Next, I consider an early-Edo text that reveals the variety of military studies teachings circulating in the early Edo period and their indebtedness to earlier medieval thinking.

2.11 Criticism and Tensions within Military Studies

Early Edo was a period when military studies were established as a scholarly field with numerous schools forming a complicated network with internal tensions and rivalries. The following excerpt gives a clear overview of the late medieval and early Edo situation in military studies. In addition to showing the eclectic nature of the field, it also helps clarify and assess the context in which military studies treatises, including commentaries related to the *Tale of the Heike*, were produced. The following passage is an excerpt from the text *Evaluation of Military*

¹²⁶ Ibid., 434-435.

Studies (*Gunhō hyōron* 軍法評論), which is a part of the *Military Teachings of the Kusunoki School* (*Kusunoki-ryū heihō* 楠流兵法) in thirty-five manuscript volumes. Criticism of five types of military schools active in the seventeenth century is done from the position of the Nagi-ryū 南木流 school, that is, from within the field of military studies.

[Type] One: Military customs that are part of [ancient] rites and practices, lose their original [meaning], become [used as] battle techniques, and are considered [a basis for] a school of military strategy. Focusing on all kinds of customs, measurements of weapons and armour, or military fans, [such schools] mix in battle techniques a little.¹²⁷

Two: In the *Six Secret Teachings*, in the section on army preparations [Dragon Secret Teaching, The Army's Indications], Tai Gong of Zhou wrote about *qi* [prognostication ethers]. There is a school in which foolish and unenlightened people interpret this section literally, write about various shapes of clouds and smoke, and using images and false words they inquire about dangers and observe military spirit.¹²⁸

Three: Another school is extracted from the daily records the *Kōyō gunkan* of [Takeda] Shingen from the Kai region. There are types who cleverly select various parts from the fifteenth volume on military ways, clamour about matters that are a little smart, and make it into a school of military strategy.¹²⁹

Four: There is a school of those who take a current [of thought] from Shingon monks, yin-yang masters, *yamabushi* and others, and write about divination about dates, directions, nine-character [magic Buddhist] protective chants, and other amulets, and focus on various strange-looking mysterious spells.¹³⁰

Five: Recently, there are those who toy with a storybook, called in the world the *Taiheiki hyōban*, a collection of false trifling matters, and clamour about its wisdom.

These five schools are the basis of what was established by military scholars of the present time. Since then, they mix in ancient military ways here and there, consider it a school and create multivolume texts, run around the world deceiving daimyo and wealthy people of low wisdom, and use it as a scheme to seek gain.

一ニハ、礼識ノ内ニ云ヲク軍礼ノ事ヲ使トシ、其元ヲ失、合戦ノ術ニ成、軍法一流トス。是ハ万事之法、武具ノ寸法亦ハ軍配団ヲ専トナシ、少合戦ノ術ヲ交へ、

¹²⁷ This category consists of texts that discuss ancient customs and practices of military houses.

¹²⁸ Texts similar to *Kin'etsushū* 訓閱集, based on the Five Elements theory.

¹²⁹ The text *Kōyō gunkan* 甲陽軍鑑 of the Kōshū-ryū 甲州流.

¹³⁰ Texts like *Hyōhō hijutsu ikkansho* 兵法秘術一卷書.

二ニハ、六韜之内兵備之篇ニ周ノ太公、運氣ヲ記ス事有。此篇ヲ愚人不悟、文字ニ付見解ヲ起シ、様々之雲煙ノ形ヲ書記シ、絵虚言ヲ以テ、危ヲ伺、軍記〔軍氣〕ヲ見ルト云流有。

三ニハ、甲斐ノ信玄ノ日記『甲陽軍鑑』ヨリモ一流拔出ス。十五卷目ノ軍法ノ巻ト云ヨリ様々之事ヲタクミ出、小カシコキ事ノハシル類有テ、一流ノ軍法ト成。

四ニハ、真言坊主・陰陽師・山臥等ノ中ヨリ一流出、日取・方角・九字護身法、其外札守ヲ記、色々奇特ガマシキ妙呪事ヲ専トスル流有。

五ニハ、近比、世上ニ『太平記評判』トテ偽ノ小事ヲ書集タル双紙ヲ^{モテアソビ}賞、利根立ナル事ヲ匄ル有。

此五流、今時ノ軍法者ノ事ヲ起シタル元也。従其以来ハ古ノ軍法ヲ彼方此方ヘ交、一流トナシテ数巻ノ書物ヲ作り、世上ヲ走り廻り、小智之大名・富人ヲ誰〔誑〕カシ、利欲ヲ求ル謀トス。¹³¹

This sharp critical or even mocking description and assessment of rival schools contains important information about the contents of the new schools created in the early Edo period. Since the scholars who established these schools catered to the interests of daimyo lords who were the scholars' primary audience and sponsors, it is clear that the teachings reflected their tastes and worldview. The first type of teachings described in the above example consists of customs and practices of warrior families which essentially centre on ceremonial etiquette and material objects. This type of military studies may be said to be a warrior counterpart of the ceremonial etiquette and customs to which court nobility attached great importance. The second and fourth types of teachings are essentially divination-based traditions influenced by esoteric Buddhism and yin-yang thought. Even though they are often assumed—in modern scholarship, which prefers to ignore any other-worldly elements in political or warrior-related matters—to have been extinct since ancient times in China or medieval Japan, this piece of evidence testifies to their continuity and vitality as late as the Edo period. Apparently, there was demand for this knowledge among some daimyo, who were ready to invite scholars and sponsor their lectures

¹³¹ Imai Shōnosuke, "Nagi-ryū oboegaki: *Rijinshō* to no kakawari," in '*Taiheiki hiden rjinshō*' kenkyū (Kyūko Shoin, 2012), 550.

and texts. The continuity of this kind of thinking shows that divination-based traditions were not a medieval remnant that barely survived, but part of an active scholarly field maintained by people affiliated with daimyo lords. In other words, this phenomenon was not limited only to the transmission of earlier texts, but involved the creation of new schools and texts based on earlier thinking, mostly associated with medieval warriors. Even if many early-Edo daimyo did not believe in spells and divinations, they perhaps studied them as a potential means of manipulating warriors and others who did. It is also possible that some daimyo lords did believe in esoteric Buddhist and Shinto concepts, as suggested by the critic who accuses military scholars of “deceiving” daimyo lords. In any case, the emergence of military schools based on divination and other esoteric content suggests that, for some people, supernatural ideas and techniques had practical significance.¹³² This also means that we should avoid studying the medieval and even early modern political and military history of Japan with the assumption that only this-worldly considerations guided the activities of historical figures.

The only schools in the above description with emphasis on human effort are the Kōshū-ryū school based on the *Kōyō gunkan*, the third type; and the school centred on the *Selection of*

¹³² The historian Daniel Trambaiolo, in his article about medicine in the Edo period, writes: “The regulations for samurai (*buke shohatto* 武家諸法度) promulgated in 1615 had grouped medicine together with the divinatory arts (*in ryōdō* 医陰両道), but the 1662 revision of these regulations grouped it instead with Confucian scholarship (*ju i ryōdō* 儒医両道), implying a greater respect for medical learning and practice” (p. 150). See Daniel Trambaiolo, “The Languages of Medical Knowledge in Tokugawa Japan,” in *Rethinking Asian languages, vernaculars, and literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin Elman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 147-168. This example confirms that in the early Edo period, the change took place in the worldview of warriors, who gradually distanced themselves from the medieval customs of divination and spells in different fields, including medicine and military studies.

The interest of daimyo lords in supernatural knowledge can also be explained by their desire to know the people under their rule, among whom such beliefs were kept throughout the Edo period and even later. In the same article, Daniel Trambaiolo mentions a daimyo ordering a doctor to collect knowledge from folk medicine and to compile a text with folk remedies in the late seventeenth century. Also, manuscript copies of popular medical manuals “show how the villagers who copied them sometimes extended their range of therapeutic techniques by transcribing magical incantations for the cure of various minor ailments into the same volumes” (p. 159). I suggest that divination and magical spells were not limited to medicine, but occupied a prominent place in some types of military studies, too. In the early Edo period, these beliefs were found among commoners and some members of the elite.

Secret Commentaries on the Chronicles of the Great Peace (*Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* 太平記評判秘伝理尽鈔), the fifth type. For the critic who belongs to the Nagi-ryū school, these two types are also fabrications used to deceive daimyo and seek gain. Imai Shōnosuke notes that the Nagi-ryū emphasizes Buddhism as the origin of the school, while the *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* views Buddhism as merely an expedient means.¹³³ Both the Nagi-ryū and the *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* focus on the figure of Kusunoki no Masashige as the model leader, and therefore they are rival schools contesting the correct interpretation of Masashige. This rivalry may explain why the *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* is criticized in the passage.

Other commentaries, similar to the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* discussed in detail in later chapters, belong to the same category as the *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō*, that is, the fifth type. Although the criticism of this military school is appropriate and reasonable, it is important to be aware that it is done by a rival group. Despite the bias, this description contains valuable information about the context in which works like the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* were created, and it supports the claim that the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* was considered a text of military scholars—possibly an attempt to establish a school based on the *Tale of the Heike*—that it was intended for an influential person like a daimyo, and that its criticism could originate not only from other fields, but also from competing groups within military studies.

The passage discussed above shows that the field of military studies was a very dynamic and complicated network of competing schools and texts that had close connections to daimyo across Japan. It also contains rare evidence about the interests of early-Edo daimyo and the resilience of medieval military teachings that relied on the supernatural. Next, I turn to the

¹³³ Imai Shōnosuke, “Nagi-ryū oboegaki – *Rijinshō* to no kakawari,” in “*Taiheiki hidden rijinshō*” *kenkyū*, 557-558.

tendency of military studies scholars to raise the authority of teachings by attaching them to famous figures from the ancient and medieval past.

2.12 Veneration of Past Heroes

In the premodern period, ancient texts that were passed down, preferably in secret, from sages of the past were seen as more authoritative than newly created ones. Early-Edo writers involved in military studies often appropriated famous historical or legendary people as founders of specific kinds of political teachings and military techniques. These claims were either entirely fictional or based on more or less spurious medieval sources. Celebrated generals and warriors of the past were the primary candidates, although people indirectly associated with leadership and statecraft were also reinterpreted as advisors, military experts, and mentors.

Among all the currents of military studies, none is more directly relevant for the study of the reception of medieval texts than the category called by Ishioka Hisao “military studies based on veneration of old heroes” (*koeiyū keikō no heihōgaku* 古英雄景仰の兵法学). The figure of General Minamoto no Yoshitsune is one example of a widely admired hero whose deeds have been recorded in numerous tales and embellished with legendary and fictional details. In histories, war tales, and popular works of all kinds he is one of the most outstanding generals known primarily for bravery, daring attacks, victories, and tragic fate. Military scholars and Warring States generals also respected Yoshitsune, and his stratagems were an object of study and discussion.

Medieval narratives told semi-legendary accounts of Yoshitsune’s training at the Kurama temple where he studied strategy, *shugendō*, and yin-yang magic under Kiichi Hōgen. In late medieval and early Edo, a special Yoshitsune school of military studies was established, for example in Echizen, with Yoshitsune himself considered the founder of the teaching. According

to a fictional transmission record, the “ninth generation” (in the transmission lineage) after Yoshitsune was a certain Ihara Yorifumi 井原頼文 (1610?-1686) who was noticed in Edo by Lord Matsudaira of the Fukui domain and entered into his service in 1643, subsequently serving three generations of lords until his death in 1686. The content of his teaching is not clear, but texts attributed to him are influenced by Buddhist esoteric techniques which likely also formed the core of his scholarship. In the seventeenth century, Ihara’s school was quite prosperous, attracting warriors, *hatamoto* vassals, and domain lords as disciples.¹³⁴ The texts of the curriculum numbered close to three hundred volumes arranged into three categories: rules (methods), arrangement, and technique (*hō* 法, *hai* 配, *jutsu* 術). Each of them was divided into three stages resulting in nine levels in total. Andō Sōunken 安藤掃雲軒 (1626-1690s?), a military scholar of the Kusunoki school (focused on the *Taiheiki* and the figure of Kusunoki no Masashige), studied the Yoshitsune school teachings under Ihara Yorifumi during his service to lord Matsudaira in his twenties (that is, around the 1640s). In his own work,¹³⁵ he cites Ihara describing Yoshitsune’s strategies and his victories at Ichi-no-tani and Yashima as not being due to human power (*jinzō* 人造), but due to the “way of heaven”, or as being the “top of heavenly basis” (*tengen no kyoku* 天元の極), which is the “best warrior [quality]” (*shizen no hei* 至善の

¹³⁴ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 172.

¹³⁵ Andō’s own works were influenced by the Yoshitsune school. For example, he arranged materials into similar categories and nine levels. The influence of the Yoshitsune school on the Kusunoki school is possible, but detailed research is lacking.

兵).¹³⁶ Such rhetoric reveals the degree to which Yoshitsune was respected, and literally worshipped, as a sage general in the seventeenth century.¹³⁷

Despite this school's unclear transmission history in the medieval era, its establishment of military teachings based on the figure of Yoshitsune and his feats, and Ihara's attainment of a position in the service of a prominent domain lord, shows how seriously high-level warrior circles in the early Edo period regarded such teachings and were willing to study the texts, listen to lectures, and employ such scholars as teachers or advisors.

This attention of military studies writers to famous figures associated with the Genpei conflict (1180-1185) or the Northern and Southern Courts period (*Nanbokuchō jidai* 南北朝時代, 1336-1392) is one of the major reasons why works such as the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike* were used as material for discussion about statecraft and creation of didactic commentaries. As a result of this process, these medieval texts were made part of military studies. In the Edo period the *Taiheiki* was not only a history and, similarly, the *Tale of the Heike* was not only a history or a text for religious sermons and musical performances; these works also served as texts for military studies.

In the following section, I show that in some cases military studies content was grafted not onto historical texts, but onto Buddhist and Shinto teachings. This medieval trend continued in the Edo period and added new figures to the list of military studies founders.

¹³⁶ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 173.

¹³⁷ Another text related to Yoshitsune that circulated in the Edo period was *Yoshitsune's Military Poems* (*Yoshitsune gunka* 義経軍歌), a Muromachi-era collection of waka poems on the topics of military strategy, training, lord-warrior relations, time and direction, weather, etc. Attribution of the poems to Yoshitsune reflects the Muromachi-era popularity of heroic Yoshitsune, but lacks any firm proof. Divination elements point to medieval composition of this work, which was widely used since the late Muromachi era. Later in the Edo period, both manuscript and printed versions circulated, and the work was added to the curriculum of many different schools of military studies.

2.13 Examples of Noteworthy Non-mainstream Currents in Thought

2.13.1 Buddhism and Shinto: Prince Shōtoku's Divine Military Teaching

A special teaching was developed in the late Warring States era in the Aizu domain that claimed to originate from the seventh-century prince Shōtoku (Shōtoku taishi 聖徳太子, 574-622 CE), a figure known for promoting both Buddhism and Shinto in state matters. This was known as Prince Shōtoku's divine military teaching (*Taishi-ryū shingunden* 太子流神軍伝). In this teaching, military concepts were expressed in a metaphorical or symbolic form relying on imagery and terms from Buddhism and Shinto. For example, the technique of dispersing and grouping to emphasize the unity of a general and his warriors was expressed as “mercury” (*suigin* 水銀) breaking into pieces and restoring itself into a single body. The principle of the “great understanding of two aspects” (*nisōdaigo* 二相大悟) refers to the need to know oneself (one's own side) and the opponent—one of the key points in *Sunzi's Art of War*, too—which requires one to assess the sides objectively, avoiding the “dirt of the subjective mind [selfish heart]” (*shishin no kegare* 私心の穢) that leads to the erroneous assumption that one's own side has an advantage.

This Taishi-ryū school upholds the view according to which the origins of military ways reach back to the Age of the Gods (*kamiyo* 神代) with the yin-yang principles, represented by the swords of Amida and Hachiman, originally being united. The metaphor extends to the complementary nature of Buddhism and the military way (*budō* 武道). Using Buddhist metaphorical rhetoric, the concept of victory is expressed as: “The Pure Land is a place without defilement, being without defilement is a body [essence] of victory” (*jōdo towa kegare naki*

tokoro, kegare naki wa shō no tai nari 浄土とは穢なき所、穢なきは勝の体なり).¹³⁸ Also, importance of faith is highlighted as follows: “not seeing anything in the sky occurs in the heart of defiled land, seeing that it is full of buddhas and deities is in the heart of Pure Land.” Moreover, the space of heaven and earth is full of deities, and each individual “I” is an element or particle of the deities. As the origins of military teachings are described as “military ways have buddhas and deities as parents” (*gunhō wa butsujin wo fubo to suru* 軍法は仏神を父母とする), the goal of a general is to join his own heart/mind with buddhas and deities in order to have power over the land. The military way is seen as being emitted from a general’s heart/mind, and when the heart has no defilement and is united with deities, then it becomes the “true teaching” (*shōbō* 正法). In addition, the Taishi-ryū school holds that originally Buddhism, Shinto, and the military were a single Way that later split into three.¹³⁹

This teaching, despite its limited scope centred on the Aizu domain, shows, nevertheless, how ideas in military studies were expressed using Buddhist and Shinto philosophical frameworks. The authority of the ancient prince Shōtoku and ancient mythology served as springboards for developing a school of military studies and establishing its philosophical and mystical concepts and discourses. In some cases, borrowing or appropriating existing known concepts possibly facilitated acquisition of teachings by warrior-class disciples. Moreover, in the late medieval and early Edo periods, intellectual thought was syncretic to a large degree. For example, philosopher Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1619-1682) studied Buddhism at Mount Hiei in his youth, and at the age of twenty-five he went on to study Confucianism, later turning to the study of Shinto at the age of forty, and founding Suika Shinto 垂加神道, a Confucianized form

¹³⁸ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 128.

¹³⁹ For details see Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 129-130.

of Shinto, in 1671. In 1665, he was initiated into the Taishi-ryū school of military studies. It is likely that for disciples of this school who had a similar background, the concepts outlined above were natural and scholarly.

2.13.2 Three Shinto-based Teachings

Far from being limited to the passive acquisition of ancient classics, such as the *Seven Military Classics*, Edo-period military studies was an active field of creative scholarship with the development of new schools and new texts based on teachings and concepts added from other fields such as Shinto. Schools based their teachings on different traditions, myths, and heroes of the distant or recent past.

One example of a Shinto-based school is the “Tachibana family divine military teaching” (*Kikke shingunden* 橘家神軍伝) developed in the early eighteenth century by the Kyoto Shintoist Tamaki Masahide 玉木正英 (1671-1736), based on obscure earlier teachings allegedly transmitted within the Tachibana family since the eighth century. In 1736, he wrote a text called *Tachibana Family Divine Military Teaching* (*Kikke shingun no den* 橘家神軍之伝), based on his lectures from the 1720s. As a Shintoist, he conducted lectures on the *Nihon shoki* and even founded Tachibana Shinto after studying Suika Shinto. Being a Shinto priest, he studied the military techniques of the Age of the Gods described as in *Nihon shoki*. He also knew Tachibana family archery ceremonies, and was initiated into the Taishi-ryū divine military teaching around 1719. His activities and theories are evidence for a continuity of medieval teachings that were modified in the Edo period, yet maintained ongoing validity in the 1720s and 1730s within Shinto circles.

The philosophy behind his text is a mix of Shinto (references to accounts found in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Records of Ancient Matters*, 712 CE) about the sun, Emperor Jinmu in Yamato, etc.), yin-yang (astronomical divination and the importance of having divine protection from the sun), and Buddhist concepts. This mostly Shintoist discourse is used to teach military concepts, organization, and ceremonies. The symbolic relation between the heart/mind and body is used to describe ideal harmony and unity between a general and warriors. Myths about Amaterasu and Susanoo illustrate points about rule, hierarchy, and ceremonies. The pro-imperial view is evident in the symbolic representation of the emperor as the sun (*ōboshi*, *taisei* 大星), the general as the moon (*nakaboshi*, *chūsei* 中星), and the army as the Ursa Major (*shōsei* 小星). The origins of Japanese military techniques are traced back to the *Nihon shoki* episode when Amaterasu gives birth to three goddesses from pieces of Susanoo's sword. The argument is made that with their protection and by following the shade (i.e., having the sun in the back), one can face any enemy.¹⁴⁰

Similar Shinto-centred military knowledge was passed down in the Tada family in the form of the *Tadake ōboshiden* 多田家大星伝. As follows from manuscripts from the 1720s to 1740s, military concepts were grounded in myths about the legendary prince and general Yamato Takeru 日本武尊 (ca. 72-114) and Emperor Jinmu from the *Nihon shoki*, in addition to medieval military divination content. The main person promoting this teaching was Tada Yoshitoshi (多田義俊, 1698-1750), known as a mid-Edo Nativist scholar who studied old customs, classics, *haiku* poetry, and military studies. In addition to his primary Tada family teaching—presumably handed down from courtier and general Minamoto no Mitsunaka 源満仲 (also known as Tada no

¹⁴⁰ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol.1, 131-145.

Manjū 多田満仲, 912-997), with Kusunoki no Masashige, Ashikaga Takauji, and others among the initiates—he also studied other schools such as the Kōshū-ryū, Hōjō-ryū, Yamaga-ryū, Kenshin-ryū, and other schools that also contained their own versions of “sun” (*ōboshi* 大星)-related teachings.¹⁴¹ For the most part, his “sun” teaching is rooted in Shinto accounts of the “divine military” (*shingun* 神軍), which constituted a part of *Nihon shoki* studies in imperial court circles. The influence of this heavily Shintoist “sun” concept on other schools is unclear, although its transmission can be traced back until the 1820s.¹⁴²

Another teaching related to the sun developed in the Sendai domain as part of the Shōden-ryū (Seiden-ryū) 正伝流 school, in which it was the most secret part intended for a few top-level initiates. Its founder was Kusanagi Moriyuki 草薙盛之 (1657-1719) from the Tachibana family. His grandfather served a domain lord, but his father died as *rōnin*, or unemployed warrior. Moriyuki taught military studies during travels in his youth, and was later invited by a warrior from the Sendai domain and went there as a military scholar. The top secret part, the sun teaching (*ōboshiden* 大星伝), is mostly based on astronomical divination. He viewed the basis of the military in the “universal principle” (*taikyoku* 太極),¹⁴³ which he described as “yang virtue” (*yōtoku* 陽徳) or “ruler’s virtue” (*kunshi no toku* 君子ノ徳). In some cases, astronomical divination concepts are reinterpreted. For example, in place of divination by the Pole Star, the idea of following the heavenly principle and breaking human passions is

¹⁴¹ Interestingly, Tada Yoshitoshi read 大星 as *ukanomitama*, with a meaning close to “[receive] great sun life/spirit,” obtained by splitting the second character into two 大日生. Ukanomitama is also a Shinto food deity in control of life. See Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 151.

¹⁴² Ibid., 153.

¹⁴³ The term literally means “great pole” and perhaps refers to the Pole Star (*hokkyokusei* 北極星). The “sun,” or literally the “great star” (*ōboshi* 大星), may perhaps refer to the brightest star in the Earth’s night sky, Sirius.

proposed. The “sun of principle” (*ri no ōboshi* 理之大星) refers to the idea that “heaven” (*ten* 天) is the state when heart/mind and body match the heavenly principle. The “sun of heart” (*shin no ōboshi* 心之大星) refers to the “yang virtue,” the cultivation of which results in bravery. Thus, medieval divination is supplemented or reinterpreted with new Edo-period ethical philosophy which puts emphasis on human actions that should follow heavenly virtue.¹⁴⁴ Viewing the internal cultivation of one’s spirit and mind (metaphorically expressed as embracing the “sun” in one’s heart) as a prerequisite for a successful general and leader is the new layer of interpretation added to medieval terms and concepts. This school spread in Sendai in the late eighteenth century and its concepts possibly had some influence on other major prosperous schools in the domain. Overall, the Shintoist concepts of the “sun” and “divine military” influenced Edo-period schools of military studies and shaped core concepts of their philosophy.

The above discussion considers relatively minor schools of Edo-period military studies that nevertheless illustrate some of the esoteric concepts and traditions that not only survived, but were actively maintained and developed throughout the Edo period. Shinto, Confucian, Buddhist and other philosophies interacted with military studies, resulting in a large-scale debate on leadership and governance that mixes different approaches and terminologies.

In this chapter I have outlined the East Asian and Japanese history of military studies as a field of scholarship, reviewed topics of the intellectual history related to warriors in medieval and early modern Japan, and examined the types of military studies and their involvement in shaping views of warrior-officials on leadership, statecraft, and ethics. The next chapter focuses on Edo-period “military texts” (*gunsho* 軍書) and the contexts of their production and circulation, and also explores issues related to reading and discussion practices in educational settings.

¹⁴⁴ Ishioka, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 156.

Chapters 2-3 cover the background needed in preparation for examining the specific commentaries presented in Chapters 4-6.

Chapter 3 Reading, Discussion, and Texts for Warrior-Officials

In this chapter, I take a closer look at the texts related to military studies, or so-called *gunsho* 軍書 texts, seeking to explore their context focusing on the background of authors and compilers, reading practices, and group discussions as part of the educational process. By examining the social and intellectual background of *gunsho* works, I aim to clarify the motivations for their production and their role in the Edo period. The issues considered here are directly relevant to understanding evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*), a subtype of *gunsho* texts, discussed in later chapters.

3.1 Elite or Popular?

Scholarship and learning of premodern political elites in Japan, such as daimyo lords, were shaped by particular views on what constitutes a proper education for a ruler. In Japan, and possibly in wider East Asia, there was a special attitude toward the education of rulers who, unlike scholars, had official duties and thus could not afford time-consuming studies. This does not mean that rulers could stay uneducated. Not being a scholar, a ruler was still expected to have personal qualities and sufficient knowledge for managing state affairs, controlling retainers and vassals, evaluating advice from counselors, appointing competent people to posts, making decisions in critical situations, and the like. Knowledge of histories and other texts, possession of a library, and promotion of education among retainers and people were qualities that enhanced the authority of a ruler. And yet, a ruler's education was not based on the extensive and detailed study of texts, an activity mostly limited to scholars and monks. In some cases, lectures for rulers could be quite similar to popular lectures and Buddhist sermons for the uneducated or those with basic education.

The philosopher and scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) is known for his dislike of lectures that he believed led listeners to stop thinking. Sorai's criticism, however, is directed at lectures intended for scholars and specialists only, and not at lectures for moral instruction of ignorant people. Similar to Buddhist sermons, the purpose of popular lectures is not the detailed analysis of a text, but to preach morals and move listeners by using fables and examples in order to promote good actions. According to Sorai, these popular lectures are suitable for unlearned people and rulers who lack the time to study. Despite this criticism, both scholarly and moral education lectures continued to take place in domain schools and other bakufu institutions.¹⁴⁵ This unnatural and seemingly absurd grouping of rulers together with commoners as audiences for sermon-like, entertaining or non-scholarly lectures needs further study and explanation.

Several factors contribute to the modern confusion between popular education and edification intended for rulers. Besides the issue of the lack of time, both for commoners who had to work and take care of households, and for rulers who needed to rule and manage state affairs, other conditions should be taken into account. First, many lectures and instructional texts for rulers were aimed at beginners who were often teenage youths expected to become rulers in the future. Thus, simplified language, *furigana* readings provided for difficult *kanji* characters, and the presence of illustrations are not necessarily signs of a popular commoner audience. Clarity and an entertaining format and content are common ways to make reading or listening more pleasing for conveying moral and didactic messages. Second, reading was an important part of scholarship, but it was not seen as a guaranteed path to wisdom and morality. One can find statements about reading many books and being foolish, or being wise without reading at all. Reading itself was also not directly linked to moral cultivation, as learned people could still harm others and bring chaos to the state and society. In Edo-period society with hereditary duties or

¹⁴⁵ Maeda Tsutomu, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi* (Heibonsha, 2012), 43-45.

roles (*yaku* 役), excessive reading was not praised, but criticized as a potential harm to family duties and one's profession. The early-Edo scholar Yamaga Sokō, for example, advised reading in one's spare time. This reluctant attitude or even anxiety about reading was found among members of all classes, including warriors and merchants.¹⁴⁶ Third, recent studies on East Asian reading and scholarship practices also call for revisions of established views of what constitutes popular literature. For example, the literary scholar Miya Noriko's study of Mongol (Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368 CE) textual and print culture questions many stereotypes about texts, language, and readers.¹⁴⁷

Miya argues against established research on Yuan-period plays and historical works, such as *pinghua* 平話, that have been treated as “commoner” or “popular” literature mainly because both are written in the vernacular or spoken language (*baihua* 白話), and some are accompanied by illustrations. She claims that these histories were written by officials and literati with close

¹⁴⁶ Maeda Tsutomu, “Kinsei jugakuron,” in *Nihon shisōshi kōza 3: Kinsei*, eds. Karube Tadashi, Kurozumi Makoto, Satō Hiroo, Sueki Fumihiko, Tajiri Yūichirō (Perikansha, 2012), 82-83.

¹⁴⁷ See Miya Noriko, *Mongoru jidai no shuppanbunka* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006). Miya Noriko claims that, contrary to the common image of the Mongols as “destroyers of culture,” they supported Confucianism and published Confucian texts, set up schools, and promoted education (pp. 6-7). The Yuan period was also a time of revival of classical Chinese works. Famous texts of Tang imperial politics, such as the *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign* (Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*, J. *Jōgan seiyō* 貞觀政要, ca. 710 CE) in ten volumes, and the *Models for an Emperor* (Ch. *Difan*, J. *Teihan* 帝範, 648 CE) in four volumes, that are read now, are actually recompiled versions edited and annotated by Yuan-period scholars. These texts were used as lectures for generations of Mongol and East Asian rulers. An extensive body of translations and commentaries was produced for such lectures. Mongol rulers were also interested in gathering, reading, and translating texts about the words and deeds of past rulers (pp. 8-9), and many texts of Tang poetry and prose were printed in the Yuan period, too. In fact, a considerable part of Chinese classical texts in fields such as philosophy, history, and literature, is now studied by relying on Yuan printed editions (p.10). Publishing culture was highly developed and there existed a system of distribution of published texts via local government offices. In some cases, a rich illustrated manuscript was made for imperial use, and printed black and white copies were published for regional rulers and officials. Circulation of printed works was limited, as a single woodblock could be used for printing only about three thousand copies. A printed text on agriculture, widely distributed by government to all administrative units, still numbered below twenty thousand copies. Miya Noriko sees Yuan publishing and textual culture as the origin and early model, influencing publishing activities in Ming-Qing China, Koryō-Chosŏn Korea, and Kamakura-Muromachi-Edo Japan (via import of printed texts by diplomats and Zen monks, acquisition of texts and knowledge by the Hōjō clan and the Ashikaga shogunate, and also the cultural exchange and publishing activities of Gozan monks). Even Korean editions and technologies brought by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Japan from Korea in the 1590s, said to be the major cause of the Edo-period rise and spread of publishing, were to a great extent reprints of Yuan editions (or reprints of Ming reprints of Yuan editions) (p. 661).

links to the Yuan court.¹⁴⁸ Access to the historical texts on which they are based was limited to people born in high-level families possessing text archives, and people holding offices in bureaucratic institutions. Evidence related to the production and circulation of these texts also points to official and literati circles. These kinds of texts primarily circulated among imperial and noble families, high-level officials, some religious figures, and literati. These social echelons also constituted the class of people who could benefit from print culture in general.¹⁴⁹ More research is needed, but apparently, Yuan-period printing was done not for commercial reasons, but for the unification of the knowledge and culture of central and local officials and literati across Yuan China.

A similar revision of what has been considered “popular literature” (*shomin bungaku* 庶民文学) takes place in research on the Japanese *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Man'yōshū* 万葉集, late eighth century CE). In a recent book about the history of reading this poetry anthology in Japan, the literary scholar Ogawa Yasuhiko writes that,

[...] actually the *Man'yōshū* is not an anthology of poems composed by poets “from the emperor all the way down to common people.” It is an anthology centred to a large extent on emperors and nobles. Most of the anonymous poems that make up half of the *Man'yōshū*, too, were composed by mid- and low-level officials residing in the Nara capital. Even “Azuma poems” (*Azuma uta*) are poems by powerful chiefs of the Eastern region or poems composed under their direction that were arranged in *tanka* format.¹⁵⁰

Moreover, eastern poems were not collected as the plain poems of “commoners.” Their inclusion in the anthology was meant to demonstrate permeation of the central culture of “Yamato poems” (*Yamato uta*) to remote regions and warriors of farmer background, and to show the central government’s control over the Eastern region.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 133.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 656.

¹⁵⁰ Ogawa Yasuhiko, *Man'yōshū to Nihonjin: yomitsugareru sennihiyakunen no rekishi* (Kadokawa, 2014), 242.

The points made above remind us that premodern texts that appear plain or simplified for beginners should not be assigned by default to the category of “popular literature.” In the Edo period, the general trend was for knowledge to permeate from the educated elite to the lower levels of society. Texts that seem simple, have illustrations, and combine didactic material with entertainment were not necessarily “popular” and could be read by members of the elite. Next, I consider scholarship and education at the level of daimyo lords.

3.2 Scholars around Daimyo Patrons: The Case of Yamaga Sokō

Known rulers and generals from the past often appear to have made decisions on their own, and all their actions and policies are often ascribed to them as their individual responsibility. It is often the case that figures like Minamoto no Yoritomo or Oda Nobunaga were described as deciding matters by themselves and giving commands to subordinates. In fact, however, traditionally a ruler or general was surrounded by a group of advisors and mentors, and their role in decision-making was substantial. Decisions were taken based on discussions among members of the council that took place in secret. Being an advisor required eloquence, learning, and persuasion abilities in order to propose an optimal course of action and to defend it as the best among all the suggestions. One example is the *hyōjōshū* 評定衆 council in the Kamakura bakufu in the thirteenth century, which had up to fifteen members. The *gunshi* 軍師 of the Warring States period were advisors in the service of regional lords, and Zen monks were also actively employed as advisors, teachers, envoys and diplomats, divination specialists, and even spies. For example, among the advisors of Tokugawa Ieyasu there were Zen monks and also Shingon and Tendai monks, such as Tenkai 天海.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ See Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku bushō o sodateta zensōtachi* (Shinchōsha, 2007).

The education and reading choices of warrior lords and retainers also help understand their worldview, attitudes to the past, their position as rulers, and relations with people and other states. Late medieval warriors were mostly educated for several years in Zen temples, gaining literacy by studying Japanese literary texts, poetry, and Chinese classics such as histories, Confucian texts, and military texts. As can be seen from the texts read and published by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu and those kept in his private library, Ieyasu was an avid reader especially fond of Chinese and Japanese texts on history, political and military theory. These included Japanese works like *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Azuma kagami*; Chinese histories such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* (Ch. *Shiji*, J. *Shiki* 史記); political textbooks like the *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign* and the *Essentials of Government [Extracted] from Many Books* (Ch. *Qunshu zhiyao*, J. *Gunsho chiyō* 群書治要, seventh century CE); and classic military texts such as *Six Secret Teachings* and *Three Strategies*. He read and discussed texts with court nobles and Zen monks. For example, the philosopher Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561-1619) gave lectures to Ieyasu on the political text *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign*, which consists of political discussions between the Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗 (598-649 CE, r. 626-649 CE) and his courtiers.¹⁵²

Not all Warring States and early Edo lords were fond of texts and scholarship. In the late medieval period, only several daimyo families—the Ōuchi, the Imagawa, the Asakura, and the Hatakeyama—are known for having special interest in cultural and scholarly activities. They welcomed many capital nobles who moved to the provinces after the Ōnin war (1467-1477 CE), invited Zen monks from Kyoto, and had noble scholars give lectures. For example, the top noble scholar and imperial lecturer Kiyohara Nobukata 清原宣賢 (1475-1550 CE) gave a commentary

¹⁵² Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku daimyō to dokusho* (Kashiwa Shobō, 2014), 157-160.

text of the *Classic of Poetry* (Ch. *Shijing*, J. *Shikyō* 詩經, ca. seventh century BCE) to the daimyo Lord Hatakeyama Yoshifusa 畠山義総 (1491-1545 CE) in the 1520s, and also lectured to young retainers of the Asakura in Echizen in the 1540s.¹⁵³

This trend continued into the Edo period when provincial daimyo lords, still maintaining considerable regional semi-autonomous power, devoted attention to scholarly activities. They were the axis around which the provincial cultural sphere was formed and developed. A daimyo lord, his retainers, and the scholars he invited, formed a salon, or a circle interested in literature, arts, and scholarship of diverse kinds. In some cases, this kind of salon maintained relations with Kyoto nobles, thus forming ties with centres of scholarship. Daimyo lords, who were patrons of arts and scholarship, invited and employed poets, artists, and scholars as tutors, lecturers, and advisors.

However, interest in scholarship in the early Edo period was not universal among daimyo lords. Even central bakufu personalities were not well-versed in scholarship and in some cases were illiterate according to rumours.¹⁵⁴ The scholar of Edo-era literature Watanabe Kenji criticizes common views of daimyo and bakufu officials as promoters of education and scholarship. He even suggests that in the Edo period it was seen as marginal or heterodox for a daimyo lord to demonstrate active interest in scholarship.¹⁵⁵ It seems, however, that the issue was not in being for or against scholarship itself, but in the balance and priority of different currents of scholarship. For example, Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596-1662), a daimyo

¹⁵³ Ibid., 150-151. Also, Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku bushō o sodateta zensōtachi*, 76-78.

¹⁵⁴ Watanabe Kenji, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū* (Yagi Shoten, 1997), 15. Maeda Tsutomu also claims that even mid-eighteenth century bakufu officials had a very limited knowledge of Confucianism. He cites a story about an official (conveying messages to the shogun) who did not know who Confucius was, and only remembered him when told that he appears in the *Analects* (Ch. *Lunyu*, J. *Rongo* 論語). Maeda Tsutomu, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 107-108.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

and member of the shogun's council serving the third Shogun, Iemitsu, is quoted in the biography *Nobutsunaki* 信綱記 compiled by his retainer, Ōshima Toyonaga 大島豊長, in 1677 as saying:

If instead of studying and attending lectures on [Takeda] Shingen's military studies, one attends [lectures on] strategy of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and instead of lectures on the Four Books and Five Classics one listens to people who know rules of [warrior] houses from many generations, then it will be beneficial at the present.¹⁵⁶

This quote clearly shows the scholarly preferences of a top bakufu official.¹⁵⁷

Maeda Tsutomu states that warriors studying Confucianism started to appear in the early Edo period, and quotes Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619-1691), a Confucian scholar who tried to introduce Confucianism into the daily life of warriors, as stating:

Song and Ming texts, commentaries and interpretations of Zhouzi 周子, Chengzi 程子, Zhuizi 朱子, Wangzi 王子 and others, reached Japan and have been read by people merely in the last fifty-sixty years. They, however, do not go beyond towns and are not studied by warriors (*shi* 士). In the last ten years, since people aspiring to study them often appear among warriors as well, later there will be many people who value them.¹⁵⁸

According to Banzan, Neo-Confucian texts, far from being the central pillar of the scholarship, were barely studied by members of the warrior class in the mid-seventeenth century. Thus, Neo-Confucianism should not be viewed as a synonym for scholarship in general in the Edo period.

¹⁵⁶ 信玄の兵法を習はんより聞んより権現様の御武略の事を聞四書五経をきかんより御代々の御家の御法度を知たる人に聞候ハ、差当りて身の徳と成へし

¹⁵⁷ Moreover, Watanabe seems to view Neo-Confucianism as the main ideology of the bakufu system. A daimyo's interest in Laozi, for example, appears as heterodox and unusual scholarship. More recent studies, however, often claim that Neo-Confucianism became the central ideology of the bakufu since late eighteenth century.

¹⁵⁸ Maeda Tsutomu, "Kinsei zenki no gakkō kōsō: Yamaga Sokō to Kumazawa Banzan to no taihi," *Nihon bunka ronsō* 21 (2013-03): 31.

The quote is from *Accumulating Righteousness: a Japanese Miscellany* (*Shūgi washo* 集義和書, 1672): 宋明の書、周子・程子・朱子・王子などの註解発明の、日本に渡り、人の見候事は、わづかに五六十年ばかりなり。しかれども、市井の中にとゞまりて士の学とならず。十年このかた、武士の中にも、志ある人はしばし見え候間、後世には好人余多出来候べし。

Laws and the overall bakufu policy since 1615 certainly emphasized the importance of education and the *bunbu* 文武 principle—the balance between the civil and the martial—which led to competition among daimyo to invite Confucian and other scholars to foster scholarship within domains, but not all daimyo can be said to have maintained scholarly salons.

A clear example of an early Edo daimyo with avid interest in scholarship is Matsudaira Sadatsuna 松平定綱 (1592-1652), a nephew of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu. His interests included poetry, military studies, Confucianism, Daoism, and Zen Buddhism. He wrote many commentaries and texts on the Daoist philosopher Laozi (J. Rōshi 老子, sixth-fifth centuries BCE), governance, military and Confucian classics, and he interacted with scholars such as Yamaga Sokō, with whom he discussed military texts. Sokō was his teacher, although they both studied under Obata Kagenori, the founder of Edo-period military studies.

Watanabe describes Sadatsuna's scholarship as being critical or opposite to the bakufu's position. His unusual interest in the Daoist philosophers Laozi and Zhuangzi (J. Sōshi 莊子, ca. 369-ca. 286 BCE); their views of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism as parts of a single whole; and the production of commentaries on Laozi that oppose earlier ones written by Hayashi Razan from a Neo-Confucian viewpoint, all testify to this daimyo's scholarly activities and wide range of interests that by no means had to coincide with those of other daimyo or bakufu scholars. Disagreement with Hayashi Razan, for example, hardly means an anti-bakufu stance and may be part of nothing more than a scholarly debate. It is true that Sadatsuna made use of learning to criticize or question bakufu agricultural policies relying on examples from Tang China.¹⁵⁹ In the work *Family Precepts that Encourage Learning* (*Kangaku kakun* 勸学家訓, 1647) he even expressed pro-imperial views, quite radical for the time, criticizing the rule of the Minamoto

¹⁵⁹ Watanabe Kenji, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū*, 17.

(Tokugawa) family (*Genke* 源家), and linking political inactivity of the imperial court with political decline.¹⁶⁰ Even so, rather than being anti-bakufu in principle, it may be more accurate to see him as critical of the shogun, Iemitsu, and his policies, or being dissatisfied with the current situation and seeking improvement of the state. After all, Sadatsuna served the second shogun, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632, r. 1605-1623), and was out of political centre under the third shogun, Iemitsu 家光 (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651).

In any case, Sadatsuna's interest in scholarship was rooted in discontent and doubts about the situation of the time. Being a *fudai daimyo* 譜代大名 (a reliable, long-time bakufu vassal), he was known for welcoming many unemployed warrior-officials (*rōnin* 浪人) with whom he formed a cultural circle or salon. Sadatsuna himself being outside of shogun Iemitsu's circle, he likely felt an affinity and sympathy toward *rōnin* such as Yamaga Sokō, who was a member of his salon. This circle of people devoted themselves to scholarly pursuits that grew out of feelings of discontent.¹⁶¹

Taking the career of Yamaga Sokō as an example, we get a glimpse of how patronage, scholarship, and a path to official posts were interrelated. In his youth and until his late twenties, he studied Japanese classical literature, poetry, and Shinto. Although he was also active in military studies and Confucianism, he was mostly praised by daimyo lords with whom he interacted as a master of poetry. His ambition was to enter bakufu service, under shogun Iemitsu, mainly as a military studies specialist. However, to achieve this goal it was necessary, as a son of

¹⁶⁰ 以司国家之政務使代々源家之正統仕之（中略）皇風不振時運日衰公家武家不和而政道不修

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, the top bakufu administrator and daimyo lord of the late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century, Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), spent the latter half of his life writing close to two hundred scholarly works. He had copies of Sadatsuna's texts made and perhaps shared a similar attitude, stating in the *Flower and Moon Miscellanies* (*Kagetsu sōshi* 花月草紙, 1818) that "one should have a heart/mind that worries about the state, and one should not talk about one's worry for the state" (憂国の心あるべし、憂国の語あるべからず). Watanabe Kenji, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū*, 20.

a *rōnin*, to have a network of support from daimyo lords. Sokō even rejected offers to serve several daimyo since he aspired to eventually enter the bakufu's service. His study of literature and poetry was part of the path to his main goal. Literary abilities played an important role in a scholar's interaction with daimyo who were interested in erudite and talented scholars as "pastime partners" close to medieval *otogishū* 御伽衆 companions. In addition, Sokō entered military studies taught by Hōjō Ujinaga, who was close to shogun Iemitsu.¹⁶² In this way, he sought to build his own reputation and impress specific daimyo, many of whom were mutually linked by kinship relations.

In general, successful scholars had to have wide erudition in many fields to be able to satisfy requirements and match the interests of a particular patron. Thus, as a member of Sadatsuna's salon, Sokō was praised for his extensive knowledge, especially in the field of Japanese and Chinese poetry. In *Haisho zanpitsu* 配所残筆 (1675), the autobiographical work written for his son, Sokō mentions that from the age of twenty-five years he was invited by Sadatsuna for lectures and the discussion of military studies. Other evidence, however, suggests that he had other duties as well: discussions of military studies were combined with lectures on

¹⁶² The military scholar Hōjō Ujinaga (1609-1670), a disciple of the Tokugawa-affiliated Kōshū-ryū founder, Obata Kagenori, since 1621, served in the shogunal page corps (*koshōgumi* 小姓組) from 1625, later entering the shogunal guard. He began to lecture on military studies to shogun Iemitsu in 1635, and wrote fifty-two volumes of the *Paragon of Military Strategy* (*Heihō yūkan* 兵法雄鑑) from 1637 to 1645. He presented the work to shogun Iemitsu in 1646, and used this text for regular lectures in the Edo castle. In this work, he did not include magic or divination content inherited from his teacher, Obata Kagenori, and in the preface criticized the confusion resulting from other scholars who create teachings relying on divination and astronomy, or using names and feats of past heroes. Since the work was too long, by the shogun's order, Ujinaga condensed it to *Ketsuyō shikan* 結要士鑑 in 1649. In 1653, several months after Ujinaga was appointed as the head of Awa province (*Awa no kami* 安房守) and had become too busy with administrative duties, a text with similar content was published as *Shikan yōhō* 士鑑用法—not by Ujinaga himself, but another person who likely attended his lectures. It was later commonly used as a lecture text for warriors by later Hōjō-ryū military scholars. In 1655, Ujinaga rose to the post of the chief inspector of the bakufu (*ōmetsuke* 大目付), and lecturing on Hōjō-ryū military studies was entrusted to others. See Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 351-380.

Zhuangzi, and he often accompanied daimyo Niwa Mitsuhide 丹羽光重 (1622-1701)¹⁶³ to see kabuki performances. Building the reputation of a scholar and poet within a specific circle of daimyo in this way, Sokō aimed to eventually obtain an official bakufu post.

Relying on patrons did not guarantee success since the death of an important patron, for example, meant that the path to a post was blocked and even the content of one's scholarship had to be changed. When the shogun Iemitsu died in 1651/4, the network of people close to Iemitsu on whom Sokō relied was losing influence, and the goal of obtaining a bakufu post had to be abandoned. His main patron, Matsudaira Sadatsuna, also died in 1651/12. These events coincided with, and likely caused, an abrupt change in Sokō's scholarship when he abandoned poetry, focused on military studies, and went to serve a daimyo.¹⁶⁴

This example illustrates the efforts and risks of *rōnin* scholars who sought posts and had to rely on their own erudition in catering to the interests and requirements of daimyo lords and bakufu officials. Scholars of military studies were indeed welcomed by daimyo, but often a wider knowledge in other areas raised one's chances of obtaining an official post. Dependence on patrons put *rōnin* scholars in an unstable position since their career and scholarship were affected by personal relations with daimyo lords, and the loss of a patron reduced one's chances of getting a post, and often meant a shift in one's scholarship, too. This example also shows that daimyo lords had diverse and multiple interests and scholarly pastimes. The specialization of scholars, who often tend to be labeled as a "Confucian scholar," a "military studies scholar," or a "poet" in modern studies, was more fluid and could cover many types of knowledge. Scholars were motivated to gain diverse knowledge, thereby increasing their chances of finding a patron

¹⁶³ A famous man of culture, and a daimyo who studied tea and painting, interacted with Buddhist monks, and was favoured as an *otogishū* by shogun Iemitsu, who even bestowed one character of his name to Mitsuhide.

¹⁶⁴ Watanabe Kenji, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū*, 38, 49.

and establishing a reputation, which also helped in forming a circle of supporters and disciples. The diversity of talents and knowledge was not expected only from *rōnin* scholars, but likely from all those involved in lecturing, teaching, and interacting with patrons. Hayashi Razan, for example, is mostly known as a Neo-Confucian scholar serving the bakufu, although he still studied poetic texts, read stories about ghosts and supernatural beings, translated and interpreted Chinese military classics into Japanese, and wrote commentaries on Daoist texts. In the following section, I continue to explore human networks around military studies texts and the careers of their authors and compilers in the seventeenth century.

3.3 Military Scholars, Patronage, and Warrior Identity

The transition to the early Edo period and first decades of the Tokugawa bakufu were characterized by an acute social problem of unemployed warrior-officials (*rōnin* 浪人 or 牢人), warrior-class members who had lost land, posts, and status. By the time of the third shogun, Iemitsu, the number of people who became *rōnin* due to the dismissal of daimyo lords (改易 *kaieki*)¹⁶⁵ had reached about three hundred and seventy thousand.¹⁶⁶ Although they were discontent with their condition, they avoided direct criticism of the bakufu since many of them sought to serve a daimyo lord by relying on their own scholarly and artistic talents, glorious family background, and the military feats of their ancestors. For example, when the Mōri daimyo family selected new retainers (*kashin* 家臣), an important part of the process consisted of

¹⁶⁵ This term is also translated as “deprivation of status” or “attainder.” Originally meaning “removal from a post” (to appoint a new official), since the medieval period it came to mean a form of punishment. It was applied to those who lost in a war conflict, or for political reasons such as incompetence and disloyalty. In the Edo period, it was applied to warriors and involved the full or partial confiscation of lands or property, and the deprivation of the warrior status. In the scale of punishments, it was higher than house arrest (*chikkyo* 蟄居) and lower than ritual suicide (*seppuku* 切腹).

¹⁶⁶ Sakakibara Chizuru, *Heike monogatari: sōzō to kyōju* (Miyai Shoten, 1998), 160.

consulting records of ancestors' deeds found in warrior records (*gunki*).¹⁶⁷ *Rōnin* were actively involved in a wide range of scholarly and cultural pursuits such as Confucianism, history, medicine, and literary arts. Here, I focus on their compilations of historical texts, including texts of military studies that were typically offered to daimyo lords as a prerequisite for entering into service and obtaining a post, and also as a way to establish scholarly reputation.

For example, the early-Edo scholar Kanbe Yoshimasa 神戸良政 (1608-1666) was employed by Tokugawa Yorinobu 徳川頼信 (1602-1671), a daimyo of Kii province, who was known for welcoming *rōnin*. He secured this post after writing several historical texts and commentaries in which he could demonstrate skills and also highlight feats of his ancestors in the sixteenth century. In response to the daimyo's inquiry about the history of Ise province during the Warring States era, he wrote the *Military Records about Ise Province* (*Seishū gunki* 勢州軍記, ca. 1636) by compiling records, including his father's materials, and gathering accounts from old local warriors.¹⁶⁸ In the preface, he defined the aim of the work as instructing people about the rise and fall of the state, the wisdom and foolishness of people, the importance of the civil and the martial, and doing good and rejecting evil. In addition, it was intended to inform people in the Iga and Ise provinces about the war and confusion that took place there, and the activities of their warrior ancestors. References to even earlier medieval events also helped link Ise history to the distant origins of warrior rule believed to have started during the Genpei events of the late twelfth century. The writer positioned himself and the Kanbe family as descendants of the courtier and general Taira no Sukemori 平資盛 (1158-1185), the second son of Taira no Shigemori 平重盛 (1138-1179), who was banished to Ise, according to the *Tale of the Heike*. For

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 178.

¹⁶⁸ See the work's online digital version at the National Institute of Japanese Literature, http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_W_39203.

Kanbe Yoshimasa, the *Tale of the Heike* was primarily a history of the rise and fall of the Ise Heishi (Taira) family and he considered it a duty of people from Ise province, including himself, to write and know about the temporary prosperity of the Taira in the capital in the twelfth century.¹⁶⁹ Although his genealogical claim is doubtful, it nevertheless shows the importance attached to family background and the role of medieval historical texts used as authoritative repositories of ancestral deeds. In the early Edo period, these kinds of historical compilations and claims were considered sufficiently legitimate and accurate to be included in works ordered by a daimyo lord and for the historical education of local warriors.¹⁷⁰

This example is by no means unique or unusual for the early Edo period. On the contrary, many authors of “military texts” (*gunsho* 軍書) active in the seventeenth century are thought to be *rōnin*, even though such texts were often anonymous and thus obscured the author’s background. The scholar Oze Hoan 小瀬甫庵 (1564-1640), author of the *Chronicle of Nobunaga* (*Shinchōki* 信長記, 1622) and the *Chronicles of the Regent* (*Taikōki* 太閤記, 1625), served different masters and wrote these works in order to find employment. The *Kōyō Military Mirror* (*Kōyō gunkan* 甲陽軍鑑) was revised, compiled, and used for lectures by Obata Kagenori, grandson of Takeda Shingen’s vassal serving the Tokugawa as military studies scholar.

Such “wandering scholars” could make a living either by being employed as scholars by the bakufu or daimyo lords, or by selling knowledge in town as private individuals. According to Inoue Yasushi, the knowledge and abilities that were typically required to be employed by

¹⁶⁹ Sakakibara Chizuru, *Heike monogatari: sōzō to kyōju*, 167-169.

¹⁷⁰ Another, more famous *rōnin* scholar, Yamaga Sokō, proud of being born in a warrior family, traced his genealogy back to an ancestor who defended Emperor Antoku 安徳 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185) at Dan-no-ura, then fled to the Ise province and served Taira no Sukemori’s son, and whose descendants later stayed in the area. See Sakakibara Chizuru, *Heike monogatari: sōzō to kyōju*, 179. Linking one’s own family background to participants in the Genpei events described in the *Tale of the Heike* and other texts is evident in this case, too, and suggests that in the seventeenth century, such claims were in fashion and were apparently expected to be taken seriously.

daimyo lords were: 1) the ability to compile and produce military texts that would acknowledge battle feats and thus determine the status and pedigree of a family; 2) the ability to educate daimyo lords and warriors so that they would not forget that they belonged to warrior families despite ongoing bureaucratization; and 3) knowledge of past usages and practices that reflect family status.¹⁷¹

In addition, Inoue identifies several background factors that contributed to the flourishing production and publication of military texts in the seventeenth century: high demand and an interest in military studies, a preoccupation with the preservation and promotion of the martial fame of warrior families, the popularity of reading for entertainment, and a bakufu project to organize daimyo genealogies that stimulated interest in the history of daimyo families and local history. This situation was favourable for the activities of military studies scholars, many of whom were *rōnin*, who took charge of warrior family education in domains, and whose duty it was to also investigate, compile, and write histories of domains.¹⁷² Military studies and related texts thus greatly contributed to the formation of the identity and self-perception of each domain (and also the common history and identity of the warrior class in general), inscribed individual warrior families into their lords' family histories, and defined the new role of warriors in times of peace.¹⁷³

Some examples supporting this view are given above, but let us consider several additional examples. A rather typical military studies figure of the seventeenth century is Ueki Etsu 植木悦 (?-1698), author of *Keichō gunki* 慶長軍記 (1663) about the Sekigahara battle of

¹⁷¹ Inoue Yasushi, "Shigaku, gungaku," in *Edo no bungakushi to shisōshi*, ed. Inoue Yasushi and Tanaka Kōji (Perikansha, 2011), 232.

¹⁷² Ibid., 226-229.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 229. Inoue points out that the publication of popular military/historical texts also contributed to the formation of a common perception of history and "Japan" among commoner social classes below warriors.

1600. He spent the first half of his life being a *rōnin*, and studied the Kōshū-ryū school of military studies under Obata Kagenori. In 1662, just before finishing *Keichō gunki* after gathering historical materials in Edo, he was received and rewarded by a member of a branch of the Tōdō daimyo family. In 1669, he entered into his service and for ten years lectured and taught military studies, wrote other texts, and also developed the castle town—especially the design of its castle.¹⁷⁴ His text *Keichō gunki* is also a typical military text of the period, similar to the *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō*, for example, combining discussion of political and military actions with citations of Confucian and military classics, didactic passages, historical comparisons, and entertainment.

Another example is a prominent military scholar Inami Yoshimichi 伊南芳通 (1627-1717). In his youth he studied swordsmanship and several kinds of military studies, such as Kiichi-ryū 鬼一流 in 1641, Kenshin-ryū 謙信流 in 1644, Shingen-ryū 信玄流, and Hōjō-ryū 北条流. In 1654, he lectured on military texts and studied Kusunoki-ryū 楠流, obtaining a certificate of transmission (*inka* 印可) from his teacher in 1657. Later in 1659, he returned to the Aizu domain and wrote the ten-volume *Kōyō gunkan hyōban* 甲陽軍鑑評判 for the daimyo lord of Aizu. After lecturing in Edo, he was invited as a Confucian scholar to the Owari domain in 1669 where he also supervised the production of weapons. Back in Aizu, he was sent in 1671 to the neighbouring domain of Sendai essentially as a spy, and then rewarded by the Aizu daimyo for his report. In 1679, he was appointed to lecture on *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō* before the next domain lord, and by 1681 he wrote the thirty-volume *Zoku Taiheiki rishuhen* 続太平記狸首編, which discussed warrior rule and discipline after the events described in the *Taiheiki*. In 1682, he offered the work to the next domain lord and was rewarded. In 1689, he supervised the repair

¹⁷⁴ Inoue Yasushi, *Samurai no shosai*, 22.

of castle walls. In 1693, he wrote a seven-volume text for warrior education, *Bushōgaku* 武小学. Even at the age of ninety, in 1716, he compiled a five-volume text on Japanese and Chinese history and presented it to the lord.¹⁷⁵ This biography of a *rōnin* military scholar in the service of daimyo lords shows the range of abilities that such people were expected to possess, and the diversity of the literary and non-literary activities in which they participated. In the following section, I move from authors of “military texts” (*gunsho*) to their classification, periodization, and circulation in the Edo period.

3.4 Military Texts (*gunsho* 軍書): Classification, Circulation, and Reading

The Edo-period textual category of *gunsho* is comprised of a diverse group of texts that combine elements of historical investigations, treatises on military matters, family history records, moral and didactic texts (*kyōkun* 教訓), and stories for entertainment purposes. The leading scholar exploring these texts, Inoue Yasushi,¹⁷⁶ classifies Edo-period *gunsho* into four categories grouped by chronological periods of production.

The first group contains *gunsho* from 1558 to 1615, which are mostly manuscripts about one’s own exploits or those of one’s ancestors. These manuscripts of the Warring States period are usually anonymous, addressed to descendants and vassals of a specific family. Their content is focused on several battles. These private records are preoccupied with a given family’s name.

Many texts in the second group (1615 to 1674), the composition of which coincided with the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu, were published and they are characterized by retrospection, a critical look at the past and its figures. Many works praise the current Tokugawa

¹⁷⁵ Kurakazu Masae, “Hyōgakusha Inami Yoshimichi to *Zoku Taiheiki rishuhen*: tsūzoku *gunsho* ni miru tōdai seiji hihan,” *Kinsei bungei* 70 (July 1999): 11-14.

¹⁷⁶ See Inoue Yasushi, *Kinsei kankō gunshoron: kyōkun, goraku, kōshō* (Kasama Shoin, 2014).

peace, setting it apart from preceding times of conflict which serve as examples of misgovernment to be avoided, since they lead to disorder and ruin. Scholars of military studies, actively involved in warrior education, were offering a wide range of solutions to the problem of “warrior” status, identity, and qualifications in these times of relative order and stability. The educational and social focus of their activities aimed to define the role of “warriors” and establish them in the capacity of rulers and officials. Various authoritative figures were glorified by different schools of military studies as exemplary models of sage rulers. Their words and deeds, recorded in newly created texts or texts from the past, were presented as the wisdom of ideal rulers to be emulated in the here and now. Exemplary rulers ranged from ancient continental emperors and generals and ancient Japanese ones (such as prince Shōtoku), to medieval heroes (Minamoto no Yoshitsune, Kusunoki no Masashige), and more recent leaders of the Warring States era. The most representative and influential work of this kind is *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinsho* which re-read the medieval *Taiheiki* from the viewpoint of the military studies of the early Edo period. It greatly influenced the field of military studies, established *gunki hyōban* (evaluative commentary on war tales) as a genre, and stimulated production of numerous works of a similar kind. The central hero of the work is Kusunoki no Masashige, who serves as the role model of a wise ruler (*meikun* 明君) or humane ruler (*jinkun* 仁君) and not only as a general or strategist, as presented in the medieval *Taiheiki*. This period’s *gunsho* were written by so-called *rōnin* authors, that is, warrior-class educated scholars lacking service and seeking positions as daimyo advisors or retainers. Based on their own experience or that of their ancestors, they depicted the activities of ancestors (continuing the trend of the earlier first period) and also criticized the misgovernment that led to the demise and fall of states, clans, or branches of families.

The third period (1675-1698) is characterized by the compilation of long historical works covering Japanese history after the *Six National Histories* (*Rikkokushi* 六国史, eighth-ninth century CE), that is, after 887 CE. Examples are the *Chronicle of Nine Generations of the Hōjō* (*Hōjō kudaiki* 北条九代記, 1675) on the Kamakura period, *Gotaiheiki* 後太平記 (1677) on events following those recorded in the *Taiheiki*, and *Taikōki* on the recent era of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Another trend was the preoccupation with the “historical truth,” influenced by the Mito school of historical studies. Gathering various manuscripts of old war tales and historical works from different collections, critically comparing and analyzing them, and thus reconstructing “historically true” verified editions of old war tales, resulted in the production of works such as the *Annotated Taiheiki* (*Sankō Taiheiki* 参考太平記, 1689), and others. This Mito-based movement initiated a wave of criticism against *hyōban*-style works that came to be seen as methodologically flawed, unreliable, and based on unsupported evidence supplied by military studies authors. This third period was the beginning of a trend toward the separation of historical works from entertainment texts, although didactic and military elements were still kept as part of historical works.

In the fourth period (1699-1722), dissolution of *gunsho* was taking place as historical, didactic, military, and entertainment elements were separating. The entertainment aspect of some works became more prominent and they approached literary arts. Other texts were compilations of passages and episodes about particular famous generals assembled from previously published *gunsho* works, and they emphasized the didactic aspect. Many *gunsho* authors of this period had a medical background. As for military scholars, they produced works based on local histories seeking to record the glory of individual families and maintain the authority of military studies. They also applied Mito-style “historical investigations,” based on the collection of textual

variants and textual criticism, to manuscripts. Some created compilations of versatile strategies drawn from many texts. Faced with criticism, military studies were striving to strengthen their scholarly status and theoretical base. The ban on the publication of new *gunsho* works about ancestors of warrior families issued in 1722 blocked further development of published *gunsho* works. Inoue claims that the dissolution of *gunsho* was one of the causes for the establishment of historical fiction (*yomihon* 読本) after 1722.¹⁷⁷ *Yomihon* works are characterized by a peculiar fusion of semi-historical materials, the imagination of authors, and a more or less rigorous effort in scholarly investigation that employed methods from the Mito school of historical studies.¹⁷⁸

The eighteenth-century development of *gunsho* and *yomihon* is a separate topic, and here I focus mostly on texts of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Inoue points out that his classification is based on the study of published texts and it is unclear, due to limited research on much more numerous manuscripts, to what extent manuscript works would fit the above four categories.

In fact, daimyo text collections typically contained manuscripts and published *gunsho* works as their core.¹⁷⁹ And yet, except for a small set of texts, published *gunsho* works have not been actively researched in the twentieth century. The scholarship on manuscript *gunsho* is even more limited. Recent studies by scholars such as Wakao Masaki and Inoue Yasushi, who investigate extant primary sources, their distribution, circulation and content, have brought attention to these kinds of texts and their significance in Japanese intellectual history. Their projects are currently in progress and until a comprehensive examination of specific materials

¹⁷⁷ Inoue Yasushi, *Samurai no shosai: Edo buke bunjin retsuden*, 16-18. See also Inoue Yasushi, *Kinsei kankō gunshoron: kyōkun, goraku, kōshō*, 29-33.

¹⁷⁸ Inoue Yasushi, “Yomihon no jidai settei o umidashita mono,” *Edo bungaku* 40 (2009): 39-43.

¹⁷⁹ Inoue Yasushi, “Shahon gunsho no kinō,” *Nihon bungaku* 63 (October 2014): 10.

stored in numerous collections and archives across Japan is carried out, it is difficult to understand the scope and variety of texts and their uses. It is even more challenging to classify them according to time period, to trace changes in content, and to provide a generalized description or overview. In a recent article, however, Inoue Yasushi describes the characteristics of manuscript *gunsho*, which constituted a wide textual world beyond the regulations and control of published works.

The authority of a domain lord was bolstered by the formation of a library or an archive with secret *gunsho* texts. In the case of manuscripts, the physical qualities of texts, such as bookmaking and calligraphic style, contributed to the authority of the work and its status. High-quality manuscripts on good paper are found in collections of daimyo lords and shoguns. The gathering, keeping, and transmitting of secret texts helped to solidify a lord's status and martial authority within the domain. Possession and management of a large archive with manuscripts of a particular school copied by a lord himself, was seen as the mark of a lord's education, competence, and warrior authority.

Archives of texts also strengthened the authority of a daimyo family by functioning as a lineage record or family history. Records describing family origins, history and genealogy, as well as the military feats of its members, served as documentation and proof of a daimyo family's status and background. Individual daimyo histories were not compiled at random, but were inscribed into the larger framework of the history of all warrior families. The grand project initiated by the shogun Iemitsu, the *Kan'ei Record of Lineages of All Families* (*Kan'ei shoka keizuden* 寛永諸家系図伝, 1641-1643), led to the compilation of family histories of all daimyo and direct bakufu retainers (*hatamoto* 旗本). Thus, all family histories and feats were clarified, and warrior families were arranged into a system or hierarchy (obviously favouring the

Tokugawa bakufu as the sponsor and editor of the project). At the domain level, this project brought increased attention to the histories of warrior families and the ways in which to confirm one's own identity and authority by means of collections of war tales, records, and documents. A family archive secured authority and established the identity of the family within the overall history of warrior houses.

Compared to daimyo family archives, the libraries of provincial elite families contained fewer *gunsho* works. Their members still had access, via book-lending libraries (*kashihon* 'ya 貸本屋) for example, and were interested in *gunsho* works which were valued at this level not as sources of warrior authority, but primarily as texts for entertainment and a type of historical novel.¹⁸⁰

In the case of so-called “country warriors” (*gōshi* 郷士), who lived in villages but maintained a strong consciousness of belonging to the warrior class, some of their libraries resembled those of warrior families. Typical “country warriors” or “rōnin villagers” (*rōnin hyakushō* 牢人百姓) had strong pride and self-respect rooted in their former warrior status and, at the same time, they were contented with their current position as village notables.¹⁸¹ Among

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 2-6.

¹⁸¹ The historian Yokota Fuyuhiko claims that in the Edo period, despite the formal separation of warriors and villagers, there were several categories of people with ambiguous status and self-perception. He states that lower-level warriors and upper-level villagers (village notables and managers) came from the same social group of local powerful families. In addition to agricultural, medical, literary and other texts, about one-third of all texts listed in the book catalogue of a “rōnin villager” of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are historical and *gunsho* texts, such as the *Tale of the Heike*, *Taiheiki*, *Kōyō gunkan*, and *Kōyō gunkan hyōban* commentary. These texts were read not only for entertainment, but also for administrative knowledge and ethical cultivation. Although they were not state rulers, these readers still had interest in governance because they had to manage their villages and families. For details and a case study see Yokota Fuyuhiko, “Rōnin hyakushō Yoda Nagayasu no dokusho,” *Hitotsubashi ronsō* 134, no. 4 (October 2005): 612-635, <http://doi.org/10.15057/15571>.

The historian Richard Rubinger notes that village headmen, who were the provincial cultural elite, had roots in prominent warrior families of the sixteenth century. Rubinger describes one such family as follows:

The Ozawa family, which had samurai roots, relinquished their warrior status at the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's separation of warriors and commoners in the 1590s. Like many former retainers of the defeated Takeda [daimyo family], the Ozawa family chose to remain as farmers on the land where they

famous literary figures of the Edo period, for example, the poet Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) and the writer Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) belonged to this group. Similar to daimyo lords and high-level warriors, “country warriors” collected *gunsho* texts such as the *Tale of the Heike*, *Taiheiki*, and *Taikōki* (usually fragments of published works unlike full texts in daimyo libraries), and even compiled family histories with embellishments, and fiction based on *gunsho* content.

Family manuscripts with ample citations from *gunsho* texts also had the important function of serving as family precepts (*kakun* 家訓) and texts instructing in good character, morals, and etiquette (*kyōkun* 教訓). For example, episodes from the *Taiheiki* and other texts were cited as illustrative material demonstrating how the unselfish behaviour and frugality of a ruler, or in relations between relatives, result in some benefit or harmony within state or family. *Gunsho* texts were thus treated as authoritative repositories of positive and negative precedents with a wide range of figures from role models to corrupt individuals whose misrule ends in disaster, and they were used to create derivative texts for educational purposes. The past was studied and discussed not for some abstract scholarly purpose, but as a demonstration of cause-and-effect sequences that will inevitably repeat at present if one’s behaviour triggers them. In

would remain rural leaders and be well-situated. They were in a position to maintain power in the village in spite of a change in status by securing a hereditary hold on the position of headman. (p. 125)
Since the late seventeenth century, these families were involved in cultural and scholarly pursuits, collected libraries, and had contact with urban booksellers and highly literate provincials from other regions.

They began to write moral tracts intended as aids for their heirs in providing for long-term family prosperity. Even more significantly, they moved into serious scholarly pursuits, becoming engaged in studies of Confucianism, Buddhism, the Chinese classics, *waka* poetry, Nativism (*kokugaku*), medicine, calligraphy, and other arts as both readers and writers. (p. 81)

Also,

As far as the village leadership was concerned, the kind of training required for competence in administration most likely took place within families and was not widely shared [during much of the Tokugawa period]. (p. 42)

See Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007). These provincial administrators and literati with semi-warrior or symbolic warrior status had interest in *gunsho* texts and military studies, too.

addition, interest in wisdom and moralization reveals a peculiar attitude that warrior and former warrior families had toward their own identity and status in society: the basis of warrior rule and privileged status was sought in a firm, “ideal” character respected by those around. In modern studies, much attention is given to the exterior display of “warrior authority” expressed in swords, castles, daimyo processions, and the like. In didactic texts for internal use by warrior families, however, more attention was paid to cultivating behaviour and decision-making that would gain the respect of retainers and common people. Despite a vertically-structured society with status determined by birth, the fate of each house and family—either that of a powerful daimyo or a minor provincial warrior-official—was not securely fixed, but required constant effort on the part of its leading members who had to maintain the family in good shape. Numerous examples of past families that perished due to misrule, foolish decisions made by the head, or lack of internal harmony, are described in detail in *gunsho* texts. These were meant to warn against vices and discord that threatened survival of the family. Even without battles, in the relatively stable Edo period, the fortunes of a family were threatened by strife within the family (*oie sōdō* 御家騒動), often caused by internal rivalries between family branches, inheritance issues, personal feuds, and so on. The maintenance of order and harmony was a primary concern shared by families from the shogunal house on top, to small provincial families of warrior background.

Interestingly, many provincial families collected texts of both *gunsho* and puppet theatre storytelling (*jōruri* 浄瑠璃). The libraries of these families, mainly interested in the entertainment aspect of *gunsho*, reveal how widely these texts were spread across Japan. Inoue suggests a proximity between these two genres since the pattern commonly found in *jōruri*, the restoration of harmony and order, is also found in *gunsho* works. The pattern reoccurring in different historical eras and dramatic contexts consists in disruption of order in a state or family

when evil people ascend to positions of power, which leads to subsequent restoration of order due to the heroic efforts, loyalty, courage, and ingenuity of the protagonist. The pattern was widely applied to historical events, fictional stories, state conflicts, and internal family strife, in a variety of genres. The overall preoccupation with harmony and order is the dominant theme in such works, and both violent and nonviolent means are tools for the restoration of order. As cautionary tales, such works served as a reminder that order is not a constant state of affairs and that it is fragile and easily broken by greedy, violent, and selfish people, while providing multiple courses of action to restore the initial order.¹⁸²

From the viewpoint of reading, published *gunsho* in the Edo period were usually read aloud, for example, by a doctor to a high-level retainer. Texts intended for such aural reception and reading aloud to a person or a group, have traits that are commonly found in performance genres, that is, a tendency toward entertaining content, emotional and embellished scenes, and stock imagery with typical descriptions and characterization. Manuscript *gunsho*, however, were primarily kept in daimyo archives and domain schools for warriors, to serve as records testifying to the lineage and status of a family. For example, records about the Sekigahara battle in which the feats of most Edo-period warrior families are recorded, exist mostly as manuscripts. Tokugawa-related information, constrained by publication bans, also circulated in manuscript form. Intended for individual and mostly silent reading, many manuscripts tend to give more attention to evaluation and critical and calm narration, without the embellishments and emotional scenes often found in published *gunsho*. This attitude is inseparable from the *hyōban*-style discussions of historical events. Inoue describes *hyōban* as “narration on warrior subjects by military studies scholars and storytellers who provide commentary on a *gunki* text, evaluate

¹⁸² Inoue Yasushi, “Shahon gunsho no kinō,” *Nihon bungaku* 63 (October 2014): 7-8.

historical events, and draw lessons from them.”¹⁸³ Instead of only one interpretation, *hyōban* comments often take the form of group discussions during which participants propose various post factum historical evaluations while deducing the grand plan behind past events, often adding citations and supporting evidence from military studies texts. Within the framework of the official history, such commentaries seem to be a curious way to interpret history, or perhaps an instructive method for developing flexible thinking about plans and schemes. However, during the seventeenth-century peak of *hyōban* commentaries, they were taken seriously as scholarly and didactic commentaries on historical events. Moreover, in addition to the strategic and moral lessons contained in them, such texts had practical value for provincial elites as collections of political orders and other documents worthy of being copied and studied.

Having reviewed the types of *gunsho* texts, their circulation, and motivations for producing and reading them, I will now examine group discussion as an educational practice in the Edo period that was likely involved in production and reception of some *gunsho* texts such as *hyōban* commentaries.

3.5 Reading in the Edo Period: Group Discussion of Texts

Here, I describe the purposes and methods of scholarship and reading in the Edo period that clarify the context in which *hyōban* texts, discussed in Chapter 4, were created and studied.

According to the intellectual historian Maeda Tsutomu, unlike continental East Asian states where the study of Confucian texts was a path to high government posts, social privileges, and wealth due to the system of state examinations, in Edo-period Japan official posts and profit could not be a motivation to pursue scholarship because posts were determined by birth and pedigree, and Confucian scholarship was often a path to the miserable lifestyle of a teacher or

¹⁸³ Ibid., 9.

recluse scholar.¹⁸⁴ Maeda Tsutomu even describes the reasons for the study of Confucian texts as a great mystery of Edo-period intellectual history.¹⁸⁵

Maeda lists three purposes reading had in the Edo period: 1) moral self-cultivation, 2) composition of texts, 3) entertainment. None of them are directly related to obtaining a bureaucratic post or worldly success. The first one is rooted in the Neo-Confucian proclamation that all humans can become sages (*seijin* 聖人) by means of study. By reading the texts of ancient sages, a person improved and cultivated moral virtue and eventually could become a sage. Striving to reach this goal was seen as a universal good for human beings irrespective of class, status, or birth. The focus was often not on reading itself, but on the effect it had on personal cultivation and improvement of heart/mind (*kokoro* 心). The second purpose is associated with Ogyū Sorai and his followers, who denied the possibility of becoming a sage by reading or study. The goal of scholarship was not to become a sage, but to master ancient texts and to be able to compose in a similar way. The correct understanding of ancient classics, their language, and their content, makes one's thoughts conform to those found in classical texts and enables one to compose well. The third view is found in works of the scholar and writer Kaibara Ek(i)ken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714), who considered reading the texts of sages to be a way to become a sage and

¹⁸⁴ Even though factors of birth and pedigree were stronger than scholarship, there still was competition among people of similar background, such as *rōnin* scholars like Yamaga Sokō, discussed above, who relied on scholarship to participate in daimyo salons, and who compiled histories and military studies treatises as a way to obtain the posts of lecturers and advisors. Also, even though Confucianism was not popular among most daimyo lords, Confucian concepts were still a part of the “benevolent government” (*jinsei* 仁政) or “enlightened ruler” (*meikun* 明君) discourse that was widespread in the Edo period, and the military studies scholars of various schools often integrated Confucian thinking into their texts and lectures as a component of wise rule.

¹⁸⁵ Maeda Tsutomu, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 24.

also a “joy of poor people” who, not being distracted by futile activities of the rich, are able to truly enjoy the way of the sages by reading Confucian texts.¹⁸⁶

These considerations are relevant, to some extent, to non-Confucian texts as well. According to early Edo views, the group of ancient sages included not only Confucian philosophers, but also other figures such as Laozi, the Buddha, and other ancient thinkers in general. Also, even though reading was not directly linked to posts and profit, members of daimyo salons and *rōnin* scholars, as discussed above, relied on reading and scholarship both for political discussions and personal careers.

The methods of reading and study current in the Edo period are more relevant to the topic of commentaries and their study. In Edo Japan, there were three methods of study: 1) the initial stage, usually starting at the age of seven or eight, involved reading and memorization of texts by repetition after the teacher (*sodoku* 素読); 2) the later stage from the age of fifteen, when a teacher lectures on a text (*kōshaku* 講釈); and 3) group discussion, i.e., the competitive exchange of opinions about a text, mainly done among students (*kaidoku* 会読). Importantly, these three methods were widely practiced in various scholarly areas such as Confucianism, Dutch studies, and National learning.¹⁸⁷

In late Edo domain schools (*hankō* 藩校) for warrior-class youths and in private schools, seven- or eight-year-old students studied *sodoku*, repeating and memorizing readings of Confucian classics. The texts were read in Japanese through the *kundoku* 訓読 method, with some general meaning still understood, even though emphasis was on memorization rather than thorough comprehension. In late Edo, this study was considered mandatory, special tests were

¹⁸⁶ Maeda, “Kinsei jugakuron,” 80-89.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 89.

organized, and a document was given to those who mastered the required Four Books (and often also the Five Classics). Even if this study did not have any practical benefit and the content was soon forgotten, the process itself was understood to be the “incorporation” of texts that affected the behaviour and language of students. Moreover, studying a large volume of texts for seven years was a tough endeavour and its completion gave a sense of achievement.¹⁸⁸

Next, at the age of fifteen, students progressed to the stage of lectures. A teacher gave a lecture to a group of students, explaining characters and the meaning of a passage of classics. This method gained currency due to the influence of Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682), whose view of Neo-Confucianism stressed accurate transmission of knowledge from master to disciples. For Ansai, the goal of study was to become the philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Ansai himself claimed to be the embodiment of the tradition of ancient sages and made his disciples treat his words as those of a living sage or deity. This extreme case of strict master-to-disciple lecturing format is now often associated with the entire Edo-period study of Confucianism as its main component. It is less known that in parallel with or following lectures, debate and group study meetings (*kaidoku*) were held in a much freer setting.

Kaidoku was a group study format which consisted of debate, mutual questions, and a battle of opinions about a specific section of a text. Contrary to lectures, *kaidoku* was a student-centred activity during which seven to ten students read passages of a text in turn, lectured on it, and responded to questions of other participants. While students were arguing and expressing opinions, the teacher was silently present, acting in the end as a judge by evaluating and criticizing the strengths and weaknesses of each student. In late Edo domain schools, *kaidoku* was systematized as one of the principal study methods. School rules defined how a debate

¹⁸⁸ Maeda, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 37-41.

should be conducted, and warned against problems to be avoided. For example, the Kanazawa school rules specified that a debate about Confucian classics aims to clarify “truth” (*dōri* 道理)¹⁸⁹ and reach a conclusion, and thus participants needed to have an “empty mind” (*kyoshin* 虚心), that is, a spirit of tolerance, impartiality, and an open-mindedness free of prejudice. Among problems that the rules listed were feelings of excessive competitiveness, seeing one’s own opinions as undoubtedly correct and rejecting other opinions as wrong, showing pride and laughing at the mistakes of others, glossing over one’s own faults, blindly following the opinions of others, not asking questions, and not speaking out of fear of troubling others or feeling shame at one’s lack of skill.¹⁹⁰ The list of cautions also indirectly outlines the expected criteria for a debate, its purpose, and the ideal attitude that participants were expected to cultivate.

It should be noted that the three methods of reading and study, including *kaidoku*, were used in domain schools (*hankō*) and private schools, that is, they mainly constituted the education of members of the warrior-official class. Famous private “temple schools” (*terakoya* 寺子屋) for commoners in towns and villages focused on basic literacy (reading, writing, basic mathematics), and their reading curriculum was limited to *sodoku* of some Confucian texts, while main texts were practical textbooks (*ōraimono* 往来物) for trade and agriculture. In other words, *terakoya* schools had no *kaidoku*. It was simply impossible to hold *kaidoku* sessions, intended for advanced learning, because the *terakoya* program lasted for only two to three years (starting between ages six and eight). Thus, all three methods and stages of learning were mainly

¹⁸⁹ The term *dōri* has a range of meanings, and can be translated as “truth, principle, reason, right way to act.” In the medieval historical text *Gukanshō* by Jien, *dōri* principles are discussed as part of a complex theory of causation that governs history (see Chapter 7).

¹⁹⁰ Maeda, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 48.

part of the warrior-official education that started at the age of seven or eight and usually ended at around age twenty.¹⁹¹

Maeda identifies three principles of *kaidoku*: 1) mutual communication and active debate, 2) equality of participants, and 3) a spirit of fraternity. In the Edo period, the state was modeled after the Warring States army organization, with a clear top-down hierarchy and absolute subordination to the orders of the shogun without any criticism. Overall, it was the social norm to avoid debates and not to say much. In such a social context, regular *kaidoku* sessions held in domain schools promoting the active exchange of opinions were definitely a peculiar activity. In addition, in the Edo-period society based on birth and lineage (*monbatsu* 門閥), discussing as equals was also an unusual occurrence. For example, the Meiji-period writer and educator Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901) fondly remembers in his autobiography how he was superior to other students in *kaidoku* sessions.¹⁹² Despite being born of a low-level warrior family, he could argue and discuss texts better than students from high-level families. The *kaidoku* space in school was different and separate from real life dominated by the system of class and birth, or social barriers between low and high warriors, and it was a site in which one was evaluated only by real ability.¹⁹³ Also, *kaidoku* gatherings were a form of club, society, or fraternity that had its own members, rules, and regular times and places for sessions. While political groups or societies were banned, cultural circles or salons that transcended class and territorial and family boundaries were flourishing in the late Edo period. Scholarship, which was not directly related to social mobility or economic gain, was also perceived as a form of “play.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 51.

¹⁹² Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuōjiden* (Jiji Shinpōsha, 1899), 11-12. Available online: Digital Collections of Keio University Libraries, <http://dcollections.lib.keio.ac.jp/ja/fukuzawa/a52/116>.

¹⁹³ Maeda, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 31-32. Maeda Tsutomu, “Kinsei jugakuron,” 75.

Similar to *haikai* or *kanshi* poetic circles, *kaidoku* had an aspect of play, but it also had the potential to develop into political debate toward the final years of the Edo period.¹⁹⁴ The play aspect of *kaidoku* was evident in competition among fellow members and also in the group reading of challenging and complicated texts. National Learning and Dutch studies also held *kaidoku* study meetings with the reading of difficult ancient Japanese or European texts. The very process and the feeling of achievement, overcoming a difficulty, proposing an opinion and gaining recognition from group members, were motivating to those participating in *kaidoku* sessions. Those unable to rise in society or realize talents constrained by birth or status, could thus escape into scholarly activities in the form of *kaidoku*, striving to make a “discovery” that would be recognized by the circle of likeminded people. Thus, *kaidoku* offered a chance to leave one’s name and intellectual achievement for posterity.¹⁹⁵

The origins of *kaidoku* are usually attributed to Ogyū Sorai in the early eighteenth century, and when this method became widely used as of the mid-eighteenth century, late-Edo scholars viewed Sorai as the founder. Maeda suggests that the philosopher Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705) practiced *kaidoku* earlier in the 1660s, although he mentions even earlier possible instances of similar approaches in the Heian-era ceremonial debates held after the festival in honour of Confucius, or debates related to teachings held in Buddhist temples.

In the mid-seventeenth century, Itō Jinsai organized *kaidoku* gatherings from 1661 to 1673, during which participants discussed Confucian texts in a group with the aim of reaching an original interpretation of texts and improving moral cultivation. These lectures and discussion

¹⁹⁴ In the Meiji period, when the former class system determined by birth was abolished and real ability was promoted, the meaning of study and reading changed dramatically. They became a path to practical benefits, economic gain, and a means for rising in society. Also, group reading and study quickly disappeared, and were replaced by modern, individual, silent reading. Maeda, “Kinsei jugakuron,” 100-101.

¹⁹⁵ Maeda, *Edo no dokushokai: kaidoku no shisōshi*, 132-139.

meetings were held in Jinsai's home, followed strict rules (such as bans on laughter, amusements, and talk about worldly matters), and were recorded in written form. This approach, called *rinkō* 輪講, also known as “lecture-based group discussion” (*kōzuru kaidoku* 講ずる会読), focuses on the correct explanation of Confucian texts and links it to moral cultivation.

Ogyū Sorai, however, used *kaidoku* as a group activity for the translation and study of ancient and modern Chinese texts, not linking it to any moral improvement. Sorai valued differences in scholarly opinions and the widening of individual views by means of discussion. Unlike lectures that Sorai criticized for removing doubts and hindering understanding, *kaidoku* was seen as a superior format that gave opportunities to doubt. This approach, known as “reading-based group discussion” (*yomu kaidoku* 読む会読) aims at correct interpretation, but follows a less strict format without ceremonies.¹⁹⁶ The early *kaidoku* of Jinsai and Sorai evolved into the later *kaidoku* practiced in domain schools. Interestingly, texts read in schools through Jinsai-style “lecture-based group discussion” were mostly Confucian classics and texts such as the historical and political work the *Commentary of Zuo on Spring and Autumn Annals* (Ch. *Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan*, J. *Shunjū sashiden* 春秋左氏伝, ca. fourth century BCE) and the primer *Quest of the Unschooled* (Ch. *Mengqiu*, J. *Mōgyū* 蒙求, eighth century CE, also translated as the *Child's Treasury*), while texts studied during Sorai-style “reading-based group discussion” included a wide variety of texts with a focus on historical works such as the *Records of Grand Historian* and the *Essentials of Government in the Zhenguan Reign*.¹⁹⁷

The *kaidoku* study method discussed above has common points with the way texts about medieval conflicts were approached in the Edo period. Maeda mentions an example of a *kaidoku*

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 68-95.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 50.

session held by a Saga domain lord in the late Edo period. The lord himself, his son, senior officials, teachers of the domain school, and a group of students, took part in a debate on the Northern Song historical text *Mirror of the Tang* (Ch. *Tangjian*, J. *Tōkan* 唐鑑, eleventh century CE). Over the course of the debate, questions were raised about the system of districts, changes in Confucianism, the rise and fall of the Genji and the Heike (*Genpei kōhai no ron* 源平興廢の論), questions of coastal defence, etc. One of the students, Kume Kunitake 久米邦武 (1839-1931)—who later became a prominent historian, a member of the Iwakura mission in 1871-1873, and a professor at Tokyo Imperial University—boldly expressed his opinion on the current acute issue of coastal defence, provoking the angry disagreement of the lord, but with no other consequences.¹⁹⁸ This story illustrates the degree of equality of all who take part in the debate and the independence of the *kaidoku* space from ordinary social hierarchies. Also, it is significant that a debate on an ancient historical text also included discussion of the medieval Japanese Genpei conflict described in the *Tale of the Heike*, and the issue that Japan faced in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In a similar way, the late Edo pro-imperial loyalist (*shishi* 志士) and military studies scholar Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-1859) discussed current politics during a *kaidoku* of a passage from the *Records of Grand Historian*. In his commentarial work, the *Lectures on the Book of Mencius* (*Kōmō yowa* 講孟余話, 1855), based on *kaidoku* discussions that took place in prison and during house arrest, he links the content of the Confucian classic *Mencius* (Ch. *Mengzi*, J. *Mōshi* 孟子) to criticism of late-Edo politics, society, and education. This work's

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 62.

concern with the present is seen in the use of expressions such as “people of the present” (*konjin* 今人) or “warrior-officials of the present” (*ima no shitaifu* 今の士大夫).¹⁹⁹

Maeda Tsutomu links the origins of Edo-period *kaidoku* to Itō Jinsai and later to Ogyū Sorai. Traces of a similar discussion-centred method, however, are found in early Edo *hyōban*-style commentarial works, especially “gunki *hyōban*” works such as the *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* and *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*. Although not mentioned by Maeda, this hypothesis has the advantage of being closer to warrior-class circles in which *hyōban* lectures and discussions took place, and is more related to warrior history texts, such as the *Taiheiki*. As noted by Imai Shōnosuke, evaluation (*hyō* 評) comments in *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* in some cases take the shape of complicated debates. For example, a first opinion “evaluation says” (*hyō iwaku* 評云) criticizes someone, then a second opinion “another evaluation says” (*mata hyō iwaku* 又評云) defends the same person, then a third opinion “yet another evaluation says” (*mata aruhito no hyō iwaku* 又或人ノ評云) criticizes the first one, followed by a fourth opinion that criticizes the third one. In this way, a single comment may consist of diverse arguments presented from multiple viewpoints.²⁰⁰ The *Taiheiki hyōban hidden rijinshō* comments thus either record or imitate discussions and clashes of conflicting opinions. The *kaidoku* done in domain schools for warrior-class youths based on historical and other texts thus stands methodologically close to the *hyōban*, of which it may be a later, indirect development. Thus, throughout the Edo period, warrior-officials participated in group discussions of statecraft, society, history, and ethics, consisting of didactic content applied to contemporary events. These discussions, based on a wide range of texts, such as East Asian and Japanese histories, were the background for the

¹⁹⁹ Maeda, “Kinsei jugakuron,” 98-99.

²⁰⁰ Imai Shōnosuke, *‘Taiheiki hidden rijinshō’ kenkyū* (Kyūko Shoin, 2012), 61, note 10.

production of *hyōban*-style commentaries, which in turn served as models for discussions and other texts.

In this chapter I have examined the phenomenon of daimyo salons that attracted *rōnin* scholars and became sites of textual production. Human networks of patronage and service were often behind *gunsho* texts created in the seventeenth century. This overview of several careers of scholars working in these conditions reveals their dependence on patrons and the wide range of their literary and non-literary activities. I have also considered features of published and manuscript *gunsho* texts and identified their readership as ranging between daimyo lords and provincial literati of warrior background. Finally, I discussed educational methods used in the Edo period and suggest that *gunsho* commentaries have features linking them to lectures and group discussions.

In this chapter and in Chapter 2, I have given a detailed overview of military studies, describing what kinds of ideas, texts, and people were involved in this field. I have suggested that this dynamic and diverse scholarship played a very important intellectual and cultural role throughout the Edo period by shaping worldviews, attitudes to history, and the education of warrior-officials. In the following chapter, I focus on the features and functions of the specific kind of *gunsho* texts—evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*)—that played a significant role in the reception history of medieval texts such as the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike*.

Chapter 4 *Hyōban* Commentaries: Content, Functions, and Aims

In this chapter, I consider evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*) of the seventeenth century, a subtype of *gunsho* texts produced by military studies scholars, focusing on their commentarial features, their didactic use of medieval texts such as the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike*, and their role in shaping perceptions of history and leadership. After a brief overview of Edo-period commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, I introduce several specific works that will be explored in detail in the following chapters. The final section looks at the main ways of engaging readers used in the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* commentary, its aims, and the general content of its teachings.

4.1 Criticism and Admonition: Context for *Hyōban* Commentaries

The concept of evaluation and criticism goes back to antiquity in East Asia, with much of historiography and philosophy dealing with the criteria for assessing people, their words and deeds, and the application of abstract criteria to particular examples from past or present. According to the *Clear Differentiation of Literary Forms* (Ch. *Wenti mingbian*, J. *Buntai meiben* 文体明弁, 1573 CE)—the Ming-era dictionary or literary study of one hundred and fifteen textual styles which was published in Japan in 1642, and which influenced views on genres and styles—“evaluation” (Ch. *ping*, J. *hyō* 評) refers to “a historian’s words of praise and censure,” or opinions of historians about good and bad in the words and deeds of lords and subjects. Such evaluations can be seen, for example, in Sima Qian’s *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*), which includes comments introduced by the phrase “the Grand Historian says” (Ch. *taishigong yue*, J. *taishikō iwaku* 太史公曰). As a textual style, “evaluations” are divided into two types:

“historical evaluations” (Ch. *shiping*, J. *shihyō* 史評) by historiographers, and “miscellaneous evaluations” (Ch. *zaping*, J. *zappyō* 雜評) by other writers.

The most famous of the Edo-period evaluation works are so-called “critiques” (*hyōbanki* 評判記)—rankings and evaluations of courtesans, which originated around 1655, and evaluations of *kabuki* actors, which date to around the 1660s-1680s. The literary scholar Kami Hiroshi suggests that these types of works were influenced by the genre of “evaluative commentaries on war tales” (*gunki hyōban* 軍記評判) that appeared earlier in the middle of the seventeenth century. The main impetus was the publication in 1645 of the *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō* (hereafter referred to as the *Taiheiki hyōban*), which established the new genre and became the predecessor of numerous similar works. Kami notes, however, that the link between the two consists in the overall spirit of criticism, discussion, and fondness for legends and rumors.²⁰¹

The literary scholar Iriguchi Atsushi, following the classification of “evaluation” in the *Clear Differentiation of Literary Forms*, puts works of *hyōban* genre related to the *Taiheiki* and other *gunki* works into the category of “historical evaluations” since they, especially the *Taiheiki*, were considered the “official history,” and their “evaluations” resemble those done by historiographers.²⁰² Since criticism of the Tokugawa rulers could not be officially done in the Edo period, “historical evaluations” avoided contemporary topics and turned to medieval history as recorded in *gunki* texts. The “miscellaneous evaluations,” such as the *hyōbanki* critiques, dealt with contemporary people and events focusing on the assessment of courtesans and actors.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Kami Hiroshi, *Taiheiki no juyō to hen'yō* (Kanrin Shobō, 1997), 281-284.

²⁰² Iriguchi Atsushi, “Hyōban suru to iu koto,” *Gobun kenkyū* 86/87 (1999): 142.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 149.

Even if this holds true for the published texts, the situation was not so clear in the world of manuscript circulation. The intellectual historian Wakao Masaki, for example, points out that from about the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, works were being created with evaluations of character, behaviour, and other traits of daimyo lords. These works, now called “daimyo hyōbanki,” did not have “hyōban” in their titles, such as the *Warrior Houses Chronicle of Forbearance* (*Buke kanninki* 武家諫忍記), the *Warrior Houses Chronicle of Rewards and Reprimands* (*Buke kanchōki* 武家勸懲記), and the *Chronicle of Rewards and Reprimands Corrected Later* (*Kanchōki gosei* 諫懲記後正),²⁰⁴ but evidently they were a way to evaluate and criticize contemporary daimyo in a clandestine, anonymous way. These texts by unknown authors circulated only as manuscripts, and actually many daimyo lords themselves, apparently concerned with their own public reputation, collected such works to know what others were saying about them.²⁰⁵

When discussing Edo-period criticisms or evaluations of rulers such as Tokugawa shoguns and daimyo lords, usually scholars emphasize government bans and persecutions of such activities that still continued anonymously and illegally. Indeed, warrior rulers cultivated and promoted their own “authority” (*i* 威), which was one of the pillars of their rule. At the same time, it should be remembered that in East Asia and in premodern Japan, admonition (Ch. *jian*, J. *kan*, *isame* 諫) was seen as one of the vital components of the lord-vassal and parent-child interaction. It was believed that the duty of a good subject was to correct the ruler’s mistakes, and that one of the qualities of a sage ruler was to hear admonitions and to adjust his own behaviour or decisions. In practice, admonishing one’s lord or parent is a delicate art that

²⁰⁴ *Kan* 諫 means “admonition,” *nin* 忍 means “patience, self-restraint,” and *kanchō* 勸懲 refers to *kanzen chōaku* 勸善懲惡, meaning “rewarding virtue and chastising vice.”

²⁰⁵ Wakao Masaki, “Bakufu no ante o michibiita bunchiseiji to iu gensō,” *Nihon no rekishi* 31 (February 2014): 15.

requires discretion, wit, and the selection of an appropriate time, place, and wording. The intellectual historian Furukawa Tetsushi notes that admonitions figure prominently in Edo-period “family precepts” (*kakun* 家訓), and that they were a significant element in the thinking of the warrior-official class. An extreme example is a monthly formal admonition to the house head, called “a meeting of different views” (*ikenkai* 異見会), practiced within the Kuroda daimyo family from the sixteenth century to the late Edo period. The customary ceremony consisted in retainers freely expressing admonitions to daimyo, his chief retainer (*karō* 家老), and other leaders. Unlike more typical private admonitions, this group admonition is a rare case. Following the rules, participants made an oath to hear admonitions without anger. The Kuroda family precepts left by the daimyo and general Kuroda Nagamasa 黒田長政 (1568-1623) explain that it is important for a lord to hear admonitions to keep control of the domain. For example, a lord might incorrectly emphasize his authority by being rough with retainers and insisting on his way without accepting criticism even from his chief retainer. This would result in his chief retainer, lower retainers, and the people fearing him and losing their sense of loyalty. The failure of all to strive in service to the domain would lead to its downfall. In addition to the more formal monthly “meetings of different views,” special “talks” (*hanashi* 咄) were held two-three times per month for a less formal discussion between the lord, chief retainer, and lower warriors. The power of this custom is evident in the rule of 1622, according to which chief retainers could consult and replace a lord with a selected candidate from among his descendants in order to maintain the domain if the lord is unjust, does not hear admonitions, does not follow rules, and recklessly spends resources of the domain.²⁰⁶ This is an exceptional, extreme example not found in other domains.

²⁰⁶ Furukawa Tetsushi, “Kinsei buke no shisō,” in *Nihon shisōshi kōza*, vol. 5, ed. Furukawa Tetsushi and Ishida

Typically, a lord was admonished privately by his chief retainer, whose duty was to bring the lord's attention to his mistakes. Furukawa also notes that admonition was mainly a phenomenon of the Edo period, when a stable feudal system was in place. In the medieval period, in the context of a weaker and less stable feudal system when "inferiors overcome superiors" (*gekokuujō* 下剋上), failed admonitions could lead to resignations and revolts, and for this reason they were not widely practiced. In the long and stable Edo period, many lords inherited their ancestral status for generations, and in many cases current lords contrasted with their illustrious ancestors. Living in luxury and comfort resulted in lords becoming mediocre, loose, and violent, and thus the main duty or task of retainers was to admonish them. The importance of admonitions rose and they became a common theme in warrior family precepts.²⁰⁷ Thus, it is wrong to assume that criticism of rulers was absent or could only be done illegally in the Edo period.²⁰⁸

Even before the popularity of various "evaluation" works that appeared in the mid- and late seventeenth century, early traces of "evaluation" can be found in works such as the *Record of the Rise and Fall of the Genji and the Heike* (*Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記, late Kamakura period?), in which different views are recorded as additional commentaries, and in Oze Hoan's *Taikōki*, in which the main narrative is followed by many author's comments on events in the form of "my evaluation is" (*hyō iwaku* 評曰). As a special genre, *gunki hyōban* was established

Ichirō (Yūzankaku, 1975), 106-109.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 114.

²⁰⁸ Furukawa also explains that admonishing one's lord was seen as the duty of all warriors. Since usually only the person in the position of "chief retainer" could directly admonish the lord, lower-ranked warriors had to find ways to express their grievances via "chief retainers." To accomplish this, one had to maintain acquaintances with people in relatively high positions. Yamaga Sokō taught that admonitions should not be done randomly, and one has to take into account rank, time, and place, in order to avoid deception and unnecessary exposure of a lord's faults to ridicule. Ibid., 116-118.

by the *Taiheiki hyōban*, which was published in 1645, but circulated since the 1620s as a lecture text. The main feature of *gunki hyōban* consists of critical evaluative commentaries (*hyō* 評) on *gunki* content mainly from the statecraft-centred and ethical point of view of military studies, as well as the inclusion of plausible solutions to mysteries, inside stories, rumours, and legends (*den* 伝). Thereafter, many *hyōban* commentaries on *gunki* works of similar format were written and published, such as *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* 平家物語評判秘伝抄 (1650), the *Evaluative Commentary on the Kōyō Military Mirror* (*Kōyō gunkan hyōban* 甲陽軍鑑評判, 1653), the *Evaluative Commentary on Ancient Battles* (*Kosen hyōban* 古戦評判, 1690), the *Evaluative Commentary on the Chronicle of Yoshitsune* (*Gikeiki hyōban* 義経記評判, 1703), and the *Evaluative Commentary on the Tale of the Soga* (*Soga monogatari hyōban* 曾我物語評判, 1716).²⁰⁹

The above discussion shows that *hyōban*-style commentaries were related to a long tradition of historical commentaries and the custom of admonishing rulers. Since in the Edo period, military studies scholars functioned as historians, lecturers, and advisors of warrior rulers, they often chose the *hyōban* format for their lectures and didactic commentaries based on medieval historical works. The *hyōban* format was useful for appending scholarly, didactic, and entertaining content to widely known texts.

4.2 *Hyōban*-style Evaluation of the *Tale of the Heike*: A Passage from *Keian Taiheiki*

The following excerpt from the *Chronicle of Great Peace of the Keian era* (*Keian Taiheiki* 慶安太平記) illustrates how a *hyōban*-style discussion of the medieval *Tale of the Heike* by a military studies scholar was imagined in the mid-Edo period. *Keian Taiheiki* is an

²⁰⁹ Kami Hiroshi, *Taiheiki no juyō to hen'yō*, 294.

early- to mid-eighteenth century text on Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 (1605-1651), a famous rebel and military studies scholar belonging to the Kusunoki-ryū 楠流 or Nagi-ryū 南木流 school centred on Kusunoki no Masashige and the study of the *Taiheiki*. In 1651, he led a failed *rōnin* revolt against the Tokugawa bakufu, the revolt of the Keian era (*Keian no hen* 慶安の変). The text *Keian Taiheiki* about these events is now categorized as a “veritable record” (*jitsuroku* 実録) work, that is, a historical novel or romance based on real historical and political incidents. It circulated only in manuscript form since the mid-eighteenth century.

Once Chūya²¹⁰ came to Shōsetsu and discussing the *Tale of the Heike* said:

“[...] When Nasu no Yoichi aimed to shoot at the fan target, at that time waves and wind were rough, and the target was not stable. Therefore, Yoichi closed his eyes and for some time prayed to deities. When he opened the eyes, perhaps due to divine support, waves and wind calmed down, and Yoichi easily shot down the fan target, and obtained everlasting fame.”

Shōsetsu listened to him and said: “Your evaluation (*hyō* 評) is wrong. You merely added sentences to names, it is difficult to call this a critical comment. If I would evaluate this passage, I would say:

[...] At the battle of Yashima, on the day when the Genji and the Heike set up their camps on sea and land, the Heike generals were Munemori and Tomomori. By Tomomori’s order a court lady wearing a five-layered willow dress holding a fan with sun image was placed on a ship and she beckoned to the land. At this time, the Genji general was Kurō Hangan Lord Yoshitsune. Lord Yoshitsune saw this at a distance and asked Satō Hyōe Tsuginobu about its meaning. Tsuginobu said: “It is a fan target meaning that if Genji have an accomplished archer, let them shoot it.” Lord Yoshitsune heard this and said: “Do we have somebody who will shoot down that target?” Tsuginobu said: “Nasu no Yoichi, a resident of Shimotsuke province, is a famous horseback archer. We should tell him.” Lord Yoshitsune summoned Yoichi and said: “Shoot that target!” Yoichi replied: “Although I studied archery a little, I am troubled by this target shooting. This is a major occasion in the Genpei struggle, and I am not capable enough for it. It is better to order someone else.” Since he refused, Lord Yoshitsune said: “In my camp a person who disobeys my orders should return swiftly to his province.” Yoichi could not refuse, he took bow and arrows, and mounted his horse. Since the distance was a little too far for an

²¹⁰ Marubashi Chūya 丸橋忠弥 (?-1651), a provincial *rōnin*, skillful spearman in Edo, and companion of Yui Shōsetsu. He was executed for taking part in plotting the revolt. Later he became popular as a character in kabuki and jōruri plays and storytelling.

arrow when he looked at the sea, he rode to the shore and entered the sea deeply until the horse's belly was soaked. However, the sea was rough due to waves and wind, the ship was also rowed floating up and down, and the target was also not stable in the rough sea. Thinking that if he misses the target, it will be a stain for the Genji, and it will also be a border between his life and death, he prayed to the god of archery: "If I am to return alive to my province, let me hit this target." He closed his eyes for a while, and when he opened them quickly, the waves and wind calmed down, and the target also appeared stable. Yoichi brought together his bow and arrow, pulled beyond his shoulder and released the arrow. Without fail it hit the centre of the mark, the fan flew up a long way and fell into waves. Both sides praised him with one voice: "He hit it!"

Since Yoichi thought that his side's fate depends on this one action and in his heart he considered it a matter of life and death, his own heart's²¹¹ waves and wind at once calmed down. For this reason, the target also seemed fully stable and he obtained everlasting praise.

And yet, one has to say that the shooting of this target was the Genji's mistake. This target is a plot of the Heike to curse the Genji side. This is because to shoot it means to draw a bow at the sun. This is punished by heaven: first loss of the Genji. Moreover, if the Genji decide to shoot at the target, they choose a mighty warrior to do it. If he misses, it will be his disgrace that will certainly result in his suicide. If this happens, one famous brave warrior will perish. This is the second loss of advantage for the Genji side. How is this not a flaw of the Genji? Thinking about these two advantages the Heike came up with this plot.²¹² Thus, it is said that subsequent suffering from insanity of Yoichi Munetaka and his derangement were also the punishment for shooting this target.²¹³ In the Nasu Nonohara there is a well called Yoichi's mirror, because his shape when he was ill is reflected in the water. Also, due to Kajiwaras's slander, Lord Yoshitsune and his elder brother [Yoritomo] quarrelled. I suspect that this may be heaven's punishment for ordering to shoot that target. For such matters, if one does not clarify reasons (*ri* 理) lacking in the original text, it should not be called "doing evaluation" (*hyō suru* 評する)." Chūya heard this and said: "Truly [your evaluation] is extremely reasonable."

一時正雪方へ忠弥来て平家物語を評して曰く

[...] 那須與市が扇の的を射んと狙ひしに折節波風暴く的も定らざれば與市眼を閉て暫く神仏に祈念し目を開き見れば神仏の庇護にや波風鎮りしかば與市易々と扇の的を射落し名誉を末代に遺せしなりと評しけるを

²¹¹ *Shinnyo* 真如 is a Buddhist term for the absolute truth and a heart free from delusions.

²¹² According to the *Genpei jōsuiki* account, the fan was placed to be shot by the Genji, as a kind of divination about the outcome of battle.

²¹³ Yoichi's biography is not known in detail. For his feat, he was rewarded with land, but he died at the age of twenty-two (probably from some illness) around 1190, about five years after the Yashima battle.

正雪聞て其評然らず夫にては只名に文を添しのみにて全くの評論と言難し某し此処を評せんには

[…] 八島の戦ひに源平海陸に陣を布く其日平家の大将は宗盛知盛なり即ち知盛の下知にて柳の五つ重ね着たる官女日の丸の扇を持舟に立て陸の方を招ぐ此時源氏の大將は九郎判官義経公なり義経公遥に是を御覧じて佐藤兵衛継信に其故を問ひ給ふ兵衛申けるは那は源氏に弓採の達者有ば是を射よとの扇の的なりと言を義経公聞給ひ味方に於て誰か那的を射落さん者有や兵衛承まはり下野国の住人那須與市こそ弓矢採ては挟物射の名人なり渠に仰付られ然るべしと申に依て義経公與市を召出し那的射よと宣へば與市承まはり某し弓術を少し心掛候へとも此的射を仕らん事迷惑に存じ奉つるなり是は源平晴の業なれば中々某しの及ぶ所に非ず余人に命令られ下さる可と辞しければ義経公聞召我陣に於て我下知を背く者は疾々帰国候へと有ければ與市辞するに詞無く弓箭携へ馬に跨がり海の面を遥に視るに矢頃の少し遠ければ汀へ轡馳向て馬の太腹浸す迄海原深く乗入たり然れ共沖は波風暴く彼の船影も漂ひて浮つ沈つ漕来なる的も定かに荒磯の万一正鵠を過らば一は源家の瑕疵なり二には我身の生死にも拘はる境と心中に弓矢の神を念辞簡某し生て本国へ復び帰得るならば此的射させ給はれと暫時眼を閉たりしが風斗眼を見開けば波風共に鎮りて的も定かに見たりけり與市は弓矢打番ひ肩過る迄引絞り切て放てば過たず要元より弗離射切扇は遥に舞上り波へ颯ふと落散たり敵も味方も同音い射れりや射たりと誉にけり

是味方の浮沈此一挙に有りと與市心中に生死を究めしに因て己が真如の波風忽ち鎮りたる故に的も全く定かに見え誉を後世に遺せしなり

併此的を射し事源氏の不覚なりと云べし此的は平家の謀計にて源氏調伏の的なり其故は是を射るは日輪に対ひて弓を引くの道理なり其天罰一つ又源氏に於て此的を射んと思はば一騎当千の武士を選むなり若も射損ずる成ば其身の恥辱を顕はす故必ず自害に及ぶべし然有る時には名有勇士を亡し源氏方二つの利を失ふ是源家の瑕疵に非ずして何ぞや是平家方にては其二つの利有る所を考へし謀策なりとぞ然れば其後與市宗高は癲病を煩ひ取乱したるも此的を射たる罰なるべしと言ふ那須野の原に與市が姿見の井といふ有り是病中の姿を水鏡に写し見たる成ん又義経公も梶原が讒言に依て御兄弟の御中不和となり給ひし事疑ふらくは彼的を射させ給ひし天罰にや有けん斯る事も本文に缺たる理を明かにせざれば評するとは言可らずと申ければ

忠弥是を聞て実に其理至極せり ²¹⁴

²¹⁴ *Ehon Keian Taiheiki*, ed. Sagano Masutarō (Nichigetsudō, 1885), 171-175.
<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/880066>. This excerpt with “evaluation” of Nasu no Yoichi from *Keian Taiheiki* manuscript (1838) can be seen online here: Waseda University Library.
http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/he13/he13_02213/he13_02213_0003/he13_02213_0003_p0038.jpg.

When judged by modern standards, the above discussion of an episode described in the *Tale of the Heike* seems to be nothing more than a curious imaginary fiction. In the Edo period, especially among warriors related to military studies in the seventeenth century, this kind of argumentation was apparently considered a kind of historical scholarship. As stated in the above passage, a necessary property of an “evaluation” was to “clarify reasons lacking in the original text.” In fact, a common technique of “evaluation” works is to explain a mystical event of the original text by revealing an ingenious scheme planned by someone behind the scenes. Thus, creating such comments was seen as an investigation of reasons and causes behind described events, and interpretations of this kind were valued and recorded as knowledge complementing original works. Two points require special attention: first, the importance of esoteric beliefs, and second, some basis for the given information. As follows from the overview of military studies in Chapter 2, divination, omens, yin-yang, prayers to deities, curses, and other beliefs and practices were associated with medieval warriors. Shōsetsu’s idea that shooting at the sun (depicted on the fan) brings heavenly punishment is appropriate for discussing the Genpei conflict and is inspired by military studies thought. The revealed secret plot of the Heike with analysis of various choices is sufficiently plausible and hard to refute despite the lack of clear evidence. Also, biographical details about Nasu no Yoichi, legendary but still based on textual sources, are skillfully linked to the entire argument.

This example, however, does not describe all features of “evaluation” comments—there is no clear didactic message, for example—and a more detailed examination is required.

4.3 *Hyōban* Commentary of the *Taiheiki* and its Features

In the last two decades, new studies on the intellectual history of the Edo period have brought attention to cultural and scholarly activities related to military elites of the Edo period,

which are still insufficiently researched despite the predominant position they occupied as the ruling class, and the abundance of textual primary sources. As already discussed in previous chapters, the so-called military studies came to be reassessed as one of the main pillars, or even the central one, of Edo political perceptions and discourse. Military chronicles (*gunki*) and texts (*gunsho*), which combine history, literature and intellectual history, are re-evaluated as a new key to the study of the Edo period which opens fresh perspectives on politics, history, and literature as understood and practiced by both elites and the society as a whole.

The main impetus to this trend was given by Wakao Masaki and his study of the *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō*, an influential commentary on the *Taiheiki* compiled in the early Edo period.²¹⁵ The *Taiheiki*-related lectures and discussions, known as the *Taiheiki yomi* 太平記読み, in the seventeenth century consisted in evaluation and assessment of people and events described in the *Taiheiki* with the aim of providing instruction and advice on political and military matters. These lectures focused in particular on the figure of Kusunoki no Masashige who, in addition to being an ingenious general as in the *Taiheiki*, was given a political dimension and presented as an exemplary ideal ruler. Such lectures in the first half of the seventeenth century were conducted for a rather limited top layer of the warrior class, especially daimyo lords and high-level retainers. Later, however, following the publication of the *Taiheiki hyōban* commentary, its content also permeated to wider high-level commoner readers, such as village headmen who in some cases claimed warrior origins. In addition to triggering a wave of publications of similar works, the commentary contributed to the popularization of lectures on histories and medieval war tales, and later even influenced *kabuki* and *jōruri* plays. One of the main claims made by Wakao is that a common perception of politics or political common sense shared by different

²¹⁵ Wakao Masaki, '*Taiheiki yomi*' no jidai: kinsei seiji shisōshi no kōsō (Heibonsha, 1999).

layers of society was formed by the circulation and study of *Taiheiki hyōban* and other military texts.²¹⁶

Wakao emphasizes the role of one particular commentary which indeed was an influential text that circulated wider than a single daimyo salon or a particular school of military studies. He suggests, however, that military books (*gunsho*) in general were significant in shaping political discourse of both the elite and the commoners.²¹⁷ Printed media enabled knowledge found in the *Taiheiki hyōban*, for example, to permeate to the middle and possibly even lower classes. The most commonly cited evidence of this process is the text *Chronicles of Kawachiya Kashō* (*Kawachiya Kashō kyūki* 河内屋可正旧記, ca. 1688-1710) written by the farmer and village headman Kawachiya Kashō (1636-1713). Other texts cited in this work, which he wrote as a didactic text for descendants, reveal his reading interests: military texts, including *Taiheiki hyōban*, and books on medicine, astronomy and calendar sciences. Instead of emphasizing his farmer status, it may be more accurate to describe him as a local official and provincial literatus of the Kawachi domain. He functioned as a village headman (*shōya* 庄屋), and thus he was part of the bakufu state system at the village level, or commoner elite.²¹⁸ In his work he quotes the *Taiheiki* commentary and other military texts applying their leadership discourse to practical matters of household organization and ethical cultivation. Using the idealized image of Kusunoki no Masashige as an enlightened ruler, he discusses the ideal behaviour of a village headman. In addition, Kashō conducted public lectures for villagers

²¹⁶ Wakao Masaki, “Taiheiki yomi,” in *Gaisetsu Nihon shisōshi*, ed. Satō Hirō (Kyoto: Mineruba Shobō, 2005), 151-152.

²¹⁷ Wakao Masaki, “Ideological Construction and Books in Early Modern Japan—Political Sense, Cosmology, and World Views,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 53.

²¹⁸ Although village headmen were farmers, they could sometimes be promoted to the status of low-level warriors, could have a family name (*myōji* 名字), and could even carry swords as warriors.

(including illiterate ones) discussing Japanese and continental history, warrior deeds, poetry, and religions. Official state decrees that concerned the community were also announced during these lectures.²¹⁹ No doubt Kashō's lectures were influenced by his readings. Moreover, it is hardly a coincidence that Kashō was avidly reading the *Taiheiki hyōban*. For a village headman in the Kawachi domain, this commentary was a text about a local hero, because activities of Kusunoki no Masashige are closely related to the region. It is likely that the *Taiheiki hyōban*, or at least some of its content about Masashige, was promoted in the domain to spread knowledge of local history and the local ideal ruler, thereby consolidating domain identity.²²⁰

The *Taiheiki hyōban* was not a unique, random text, but a representative military studies work of the seventeenth century.²²¹ It was one of the main texts belonging to the Kusunoki-ryū school, one of the numerous schools of military studies active in this period. The reason why this work in particular circulated widely has to do with the school's policy toward publishing its texts. Compared to most other schools, it was more active in publishing texts in the middle of the seventeenth century, which is not necessarily a sign of the school's prosperity. Much of the reputation of the Kusunoki-ryū school was destroyed by the anti-bakufu plot of 1651, led by Yūi Shōsetsu, an affiliate of the school. Many texts written or believed to be written by him were no longer welcome as leadership textbooks for daimyo lords and warrior-officials. Even if

²¹⁹ Wakao Masaki, "Ideological Construction and Books in Early Modern Japan—Political Sense, Cosmology, and World Views," 52.

²²⁰ *Hidden by the Leaves (Hagakure 葉隠*, ca. 1716), usually described as a canonical "bushidō" text since the early twentieth century, is being re-read by the literary scholar Kim Shidōk (J. Kimu Shidoku) as primarily a history textbook of the Saga domain, teaching local warriors about great people and the events—especially the deeds of a domain lord's family—that took place in Saga during the Warring States and Edo periods. Most of its content is the unofficial history of Saga. The text was compiled for local warriors who knew about Kusunoki no Masashige and Takeda Shingen, from reading the *Taiheiki* and other military texts, but who lacked information about their own domain and the ancestors of their lord. See Kimu Shidoku, "Hagakure o yominaosu," in *Edo no bungakushi to shisōshi*, ed. Inoue Yasushi and Tanaka Kōji (Perikansha, 2011), 249-255.

²²¹ Inoue Yasushi classifies it under the second category of *gunsho* texts (works by military studies scholars for the education of warrior-officials) produced between 1615 and 1674.

publication of the *Taiheiki hyōban* in 1645 loosened the secret transmission of the school's texts, it led at the same time to the work's wider circulation. Ishioka Hisao notes that multiple publications of this commentary since 1645 made its content part of the common knowledge shared by various schools of military studies.²²²

Let us now consider some of the features of the *Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō*. As follows from its title, the commentary is meant to express fully (*jin* 尽) the reason (*ri* 理) behind words and deeds, that is, to clarify and evaluate the true background, causes and reasons of events. It consists of two kinds of commentaries, “evaluations” (*hyō* 評) and “transmissions” (*den* 伝), both consistently written from the perspective of a person contemporary to the *Taiheiki* events who investigates facts and actual circumstances of events, and provides critical comments and evaluations. This stance is one of the reasons why the commentary became an object of serious study in the Edo period.²²³ It is important, however, that the compiler of the commentary did not simply use the content of the *Taiheiki* to express own views and opinions. The *Taiheiki* itself already contains the seeds of a similar critical approach to military and political issues: citations from military texts, battle formations, political admonitions, and discussions of the causes of incidents. The *Taiheiki hyōban* commentary expands and elaborates this critical approach.

“Evaluations” *hyō* (評) are critical comments on military, political, and ethical matters, largely from the perspective of military studies. Kusunoki no Masashige is presented as an exemplary leader combining mastery of stratagems and virtuous rule that benefit people and

²²² Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 184.

²²³ Imai Shōnosuke, ‘*Taiheiki hiden rijinshō*’ *kenkyū*, 5-6.

follow the way of Heaven (*tendō* 天道).²²⁴ For example, political thought and discussion often centre on the difficulty of ruling during troubled chaotic times (*ranse* 乱世). Proposed advice centres on the establishment and maintenance of a leader's authority by measures appropriate to the situation. A leader who can put an end to chaos (*ran* 乱) is described as knowing the real conditions of the people, being willing to hear their complaints, having wisdom to perceive the true character of people, gathering wise advisors, being discreet and avoiding luxury, respecting buddhas and deities, and being strict and fair when rewarding and punishing. Moreover, a leader should be careful not to entrust government to vassals and should keep vassals' power in check. The *Taiheiki hyōban* commentary also upholds the view of "martial authority" (*bui* 武威) as an indispensable component of effective rule, while at the same time warning that rule relying only on the martial eventually fails. Martial measures are restrained by strict conditions: for example, force is not to be applied at will and has to be used only for punishing injustice and evils. Seizing power by force with the aim of benefiting a single family is strictly condemned.²²⁵

"Transmissions" *den* (伝) are explanations of behind-the-scenes causes, inside stories, and "true" reasons explaining events. They create a world of "another *Taiheiki*" or "unofficial (*gaiden* 外伝) *Taiheiki*", providing coherent, detailed and convincing narratives as if written by witnesses. These elements (which modern scholars see as fictional and uncorroborated by known sources) are meant to reveal facts not told in the *Taiheiki* itself, thereby solving secrets and clarifying doubtful episodes of the *Taiheiki*.²²⁶ In some cases, "transmissions" are rooted in the *Taiheiki* content which is modified by developing a narrative by associating ideas through the

²²⁴ Kami Hiroshi, "Taiheiki hiden rijinshō to sono igi, eikyō, kenkyūshi," in *Taiheiki hiden rijinshō*, vol. 1, eds. Imai Shōnosuke, Kami Hiroshi, Nagasaka Shigeyuki (Heibonsha, 2002), 378.

²²⁵ Imai Shōnosuke, 'Taiheiki hiden rijinshō' kenkyū, 44-57.

²²⁶ Kami Hiroshi, "Taiheiki hiden rijinshō to sono igi, eikyō, kenkyūshi," 378-379.

usage and linking of elements from unrelated sections of the *Taiheiki*.²²⁷ In addition, “transmissions” are often centred on Kusunoki no Masashige and are used for narrating views on leadership ascribed to him, conveying Masashige’s advice and comments on military matters, amplifying his involvement in events, and providing additional vivid details that modify and embellish his *Taiheiki* image. Imai writes that compiler(s) of the *Taiheiki hyōban* undoubtedly knew *Taiheiki* in great detail and created a coherent new fictional discourse around the figure of Masashige. The fictional world of “transmissions” is created with meticulous care and as a result it seems to be a convincing coherent whole that is hard to dismiss as groundless fiction. The diversity and thoroughness of “transmissions” is indirectly confirmed by the fact that later works about Masashige drew on the *Taiheiki hyōban*, extracting and rearranging the content of its “transmissions” without exceeding their scope.²²⁸

The *Taiheiki hyōban* is the main, most influential, and best studied work of the *gunki hyōban* genre, and many of its properties outlined above are also shared by other *hyōban* commentaries of the seventeenth century. In the next section, I continue the discussion of this type of commentary and its functions in the Edo period.

4.4 The Functions of *Hyōban* Commentaries and Warrior Thought

4.4.1 *Hyōban* as Tools for Inter-school Disagreements

The discussion of topics like leadership, ethics, and strategy unavoidably involves different opinions and tensions, especially in periods of transition and transformation. As a critical and evaluative commentary, *hyōban* was a useful tool for expressing disagreement and

²²⁷ Imai Shōnosuke, ‘*Taiheiki hiden rijinshō*’ *kenkyū*, 25-31.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-41.

grafting new content on the original one. Unlike commentaries that elucidate the meaning of lexical items, evaluative and didactic commentaries tend to assess, criticize, and persuade. For example, the *Taiheiki hyōban* is not only based on the original medieval *Taiheiki*, but it also disagrees with its content, views, and characterization, building “another *Taiheiki*.” Production of any *hyōban* commentary that is motivated by discontent and disagreement is an attempt to re-interpret or modify a much earlier or contemporary text. Different schools of military studies coexisting in the Edo period in some cases relied on *hyōban* commentaries to disagree with the core texts of other schools.

Texts related to various military studies schools of the Edo period still await detailed research that will reveal more about how these schools evolved over time, which schools were ideologically close to each other and which held opposite views, and what the relations were between various schools and texts. Imai Shōnosuke’s recent study²²⁹ contrasts the ideas of the *Taiheiki hyōban* and those of the *Kōyō gunkan*, the key text of the Kōshū-ryū school, centred on the figure of Takeda Shingen, and one of the roots of Edo-period military studies in general. Both texts are early Edo or late sixteenth-century works that are mutually opposed on many topics. The *Kōyō gunkan* focuses on attack, approves of aggressive expansion, emphasizes warriors’ difference from commoners, and shows clear contempt toward commoners. It is tempting to think of this position as the typical warrior thought of the Warring States period, but the work mainly revolves around the individual warrior ruler Takeda Shingen, and claims to express his attitude. Even though his thinking was probably shared by other warriors, such views would have depended on personal character and beliefs, power, possibilities, and size of domain. The *Taiheiki hyōban*, in contrast, focuses on defence, disapproves of invasion, and views people without contempt. This work, however, is not unconditionally humanitarian and in some cases

²²⁹ Imai Shōnosuke, *Taiheiki hiden rijinshō’ kenkyū*, 63-80.

approves of control by harsh and even violent measures. Thus, the two schools based on these two texts were almost diametrically opposed to each other and this difference created the context for commentaries.

The *Taiheiki hyōban* was, of course, more suitable than the *Kōyō gunkan* for the establishment of the Edo period's stable bureaucratic system. During the first half of the seventeenth century, many schools underwent changes following the general trend towards focusing on political and ethical issues, which resulted in military studies becoming a scholarly system and the general "way of rule" concerned with all aspects of governance. Medieval elements such as divination techniques were gradually removed and warriors were redefined as administrators with police functions to punish bandits and keep order. For example, this process led to the separation of the Hōjō-ryū school from its root—the Kōshū-ryū and its main text, *Kōyō gunkan*—after reforms by Hōjō Ujinaga had essentially unified opposing concepts of both *Kōyō gunkan* and the more "pacifist" *Taiheiki hyōban*.²³⁰

Although a *hyōban* commentary did not play a role in the split of the Hōjō-ryū school from the Kōshū-ryū, it was used by a different school as a tool to express disagreement with the *Kōyō gunkan*. Military scholar Inami Yoshimichi (1627-1717), who served a daimyo of the Aizu domain, wrote a ten-volume criticism of *Kōyō gunkan* from the viewpoint of the Kusunoki-ryū school, entitled *Kōyō gunkan hyōban* (1659). In it, he denounced Takeda Shingen's approach as harming the people in contrast to Kusunoki no Masashige's policy of caring for people and not attacking castles that did not commit any faults.²³¹ Since the ideology of the Kusunoki-ryū gave top priority to love for all people and the nature of heart/mind, followed by the study of plots and

²³⁰ Ibid., 77-79.

²³¹ Ibid., 70.

stratagems, and placing battle techniques in the third place,²³² the philosophy expressed in pro-Shingen's *Kōyō gunkan* was unacceptable and seen as an object of criticism. Thus, this *hyōban* commentary was used to point out deficiencies in one school's text by a scholar belonging to another school within the larger field of military studies. Also, this and many other *hyōban* commentaries, starting with the *Taiheiki hyōban*, can be said to be one of the influential means that promoted focus on leadership and "benevolent government," thereby checking tendencies that could imbalance the civil and the martial in favour of the latter.

4.4.2 *Hyōban* as Complementary Investigation

Since the late seventeenth century, *gunsho*, including published commentaries, moved beyond daimyo salons and permeated into the wider layers of mid- and low-level warrior-officials as well as urban and provincial literati. Works like the *Tale of the Heike*, the *Taiheiki*, or the *Gikeiki* were popular since the medieval period, but commentaries on them mainly circulated at the level of daimyo lords and their retainers during the early Edo period. The widening of their circulation in the eighteenth century does not mean that military studies ceased to exist or became fully accessible to all. Throughout the Edo period, published *gunsho* functioned as an entry point into military studies and were used as introductory texts. They formed a shared prerequisite knowledge base necessary for a more advanced study conducted, as a rule, under a teacher's guidance by means of manuscripts and personal interaction. Published *gunsho* remained popular in bookstores and lending libraries, and were also used by professional storytellers. One of them, Yoshida Ippō 吉田一保 (?-ca.1779), an Osaka-based *gunsho*

²³² Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 192.

○太平記理尽抄〈五四〉

○難太平記〈五五〉

其外数品あり。必ず書肆に尋てみるべし。日本軍書の最一なり。²³⁴

As follows from this description, commentaries on the *Taiheiki* are more trustworthy than the *Taiheiki* itself. Since the original text was edited and embellished, commentators sought to investigate other sources in an effort to approach the historical truth. *Hyōban* commentaries on the *Taiheiki* are unexpectedly given more credit as scholarly investigations than the original work. The *Taiheiki* case is not unique, as can be seen from the following description of the *Soga monogatari hyōban*:

Soga monogatari hyōban <41>
Nobunori²³⁵

12 volumes

Compiled by Baba

[The text] fills in what is missing in the above text [*Soga monogatari*] and adds evaluative comments on mistakes in the world.

曾我物語評判〈四一〉

十二卷

馬場信意撰

みぎのしよにもれ
右 書洩たるを補なひ、世上の誤を評注す。²³⁶

“Mistakes in the world” here refers either to social problems or popular misconceptions. The idea of the complementarity of the original and the commentary suggests that reading the original, assumed to be incomplete, is insufficient, and that one needs the *hyōban* to supply the missing parts. The *Tale of the Heike* and related commentaries are described briefly, but there is no trace of doubt about their content’s validity:

Heike monogatari <24>

12 volumes.

Several editions.

[The text] picks out matters related to the Heike out of the previous text [*Genpei jōsuiki*],

²³⁴ Kikuchi Shin’ichi, “*Wakan gunsho yōran* (honkoku, sakuin),” in *Kinsei bungaku ronshū*, Kenkyū sōsho 133, ed. Morikawa Akira (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1993), 450-451.

²³⁵ Baba Nobunori 馬場信意 (1669-1728) - writer of *gunki* texts of the mid-Edo period, who compiled many popular military texts.

²³⁶ Kikuchi Shin’ichi, “*Wakan gunsho yōran*” (*honkoku, sakuin*), 448.

and records in detail about Tadamori's admission to court, Kenreimon'in becoming a nun at Sōkōin, Retired emperor Go-Shirakawa's visit to Ohara, and the widowed mother of emperor [Kenreimon'in] telling about the Six Paths.

平家物語〈二四〉 十二巻き。 板本数品あり。

ぜんしよ うち へいけ じせき ただもりしやうでん こと けんれいもんいん そうくはういん あま
前書の中より平家の事跡をぬき、忠盛昇殿の事。建礼門院、宗光院にて尼とな
ること。ごしらかはほうわう をはらごかう によいん どうものがたり いさいしる
る。後白河法皇、小原御幸。女院、六道物語までを委細記す。

Heike monogatari hyōban <25> 22 volumes

[The text] is a compilation of evaluative comments that examines the good and the bad [sides] of various Genpei warriors and the rights and wrongs of battles.

平家物語評判〈二五〉 二十二巻

げんべいしよし びあく かつせん じつぶ ひやうちう
源平諸士の美悪、合戦の実否をあらため評注をあらはす。

Heike monogatari karui <26>

[The text] records important matters editing (complementing?) the previous text and several texts listed above.

○平家物語仮類〈二六〉

みぎ すひん ぜんしよ ぞうけつ ようやう
右の数品、前書を増欠して要用をしるす。²³⁷

It is true that this guide is likely meant as an advertisement for potential buyers of *gunsho* texts, and its author is himself a person professionally interested in the promotion of *gunsho* works. Nevertheless, this guide shows that although *gunsho* commentaries were not produced as actively as in the seventeenth century, they were still circulating as historical investigations and discussions that were not inferior, or were even superior, to the original texts. As follows from the author's notes, the original work and its commentaries were understood as forming a set of texts to be read together by those who wished to study the history of the state in a given time period. In addition, this guide lists texts like the *Tale of the Heike* as a *gunsho*, confirming once again that medieval works known as "war tales" were also read and studied in the Edo period as

²³⁷ Ibid., 446.

practical and didactic *gunsho*. Before focusing on several evaluative commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, in the next section I discuss the relationship between the three main commentaries examined in this study.

4.5 The Relationship between the Three Commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*

Among all the commentaries listed and briefly introduced in Appendix C, the first five contain long comments with historical interpretations and ethical evaluations that go beyond elucidation of word meanings, and thus they contain more information than the rest about Edo-period reception of the *Tale of the Heike*. Since each of these commentaries is a multivolume work requiring detailed research, for the purposes of this study I examine only three related commentaries focusing on the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* (hereafter referred to as the *Heike hyōban*), and including materials from the *Heike monogatari hyōban karui* (*Collection of Flaws in the Evaluative Commentary on the Tale of the Heike*, hereafter the *Heike karui*) and the *Heike monogatari shō* (*Commentary on the Tale of the Heike*).

The relationship between the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike karui* is straightforward: the *Heike karui* was written later because its author sought to correct mistakes and express disagreement with views found in the *Heike hyōban*. Sections of the *Heike karui* first quote a passage from the *Heike hyōban* which is then followed by a comment that starts with “It seems to me” or “When I think about it...” (*anzuru ni* 案に). Thus, the *Heike karui* is a work based on the earlier *Heike hyōban*, functioning as its supplementary commentary.

As for the relationship between the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike monogatari shō*, available evidence is insufficient to determine their order. Information about the year of publication and the author(s) for the *Heike monogatari shō* commentary is unavailable. The 1692 index of published texts lists a work titled the *Great Commentary on the Tale of the Heike* (*Heike*

monogatari daishō 平家物語大抄) by Nishi Dōchi 西道智, a Kyoto-based doctor and National Learning scholar active in the 1650s-1670s. No text with this title is extant, but the 1670 index contains the *Complete [Tales of the] Hōgen and Heiji* (*Hōgen Heiji taizen* 保元平治大全) by the same author, and the *Hōgen monogatari taizen* and the *Heiji monogatari taizen* are indeed extant works. Since the number of volumes matches and the title is similar, the *Heike monogatari daishō* can be thought of as a variant title for the *Heike monogatari shō*, but there is no definite proof.²³⁸

The *Heike monogatari shō* contains brief notes on names, places, and the vocabulary of the *Tale of the Heike* text, with quotes from a wide range of Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts such as the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokkekyō* 法華經), the *Book of Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), the *Records of the Grand Historian*, the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*, the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, early Heian period), the *Songs to Make the Dust Dance on the Beams* (*Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄, late Heian period), and others. Also, in a few notes, a comparison is made with other variants of the *Tale of the Heike*, noting for example the choice of kanji characters used, and discrepancies in the dates of events. These kinds of notes are, however, entirely absent in the *Heike hyōban* commentary. Common to both works are long notes of a didactic or ethical nature, discussing events and people described in the *Tale of the Heike*. Unlike the two types of *Heike hyōban* comments, “evaluation says” (*hyō iwaku* 評曰) and “transmission says” (*den iwaku* 伝曰), those in the *Heike monogatari shō* begin with phrases like “the *Illustrated Classic* says” (*zukyō ni iu* 図経に云), “transmission says” (*den iwaku* 伝曰), or “discussing [one] says” (*gi shite iwaku* 議して云).

²³⁸ *Heike monogatari kenkyū jiten*, 519.



Fig. 1 A page from the *Heike monogatari shō* showing the text of the *Heike*, surrounded by brief headnotes and additional, longer notes on the left. On the left page, following the second circular notation at the top (seven lines from the right margin) we see “Transmission says” (*den iwaku*). Following the next circle (five lines from the left margin), we see “Discussing [one] says” (*gi shite iwaku*).²³⁹

The content of these notes is in some cases similar in both works, suggesting a relation between them, although it is impossible to determine which of the two influenced the other.²⁴⁰ Unlike the long and elaborate discussion in the *Heike hyōban*, the comments in the *Heike monogatari shō* are much shorter and, according to the hypothesis of the literary scholar Horitake Tadaaki who notes similarity in content and structure, it was the *Heike hyōban* that influenced the later *Heike*

²³⁹ *Heike monogatari shō*, vol. 4, page 9. National Archives of Japan, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image-j/M2016062813470834275>.

²⁴⁰ *Heike monogatari daijiten*, 645.

monogatari shō.²⁴¹ It is, indeed, more probable that the long and detailed commentaries of the *Heike hyōban* were summarized in a digest form with added criticism, and not the reverse. Creating a very long text by expanding the brief discussion found in the *Heike monogatari shō* appears less convincing, but still possible.

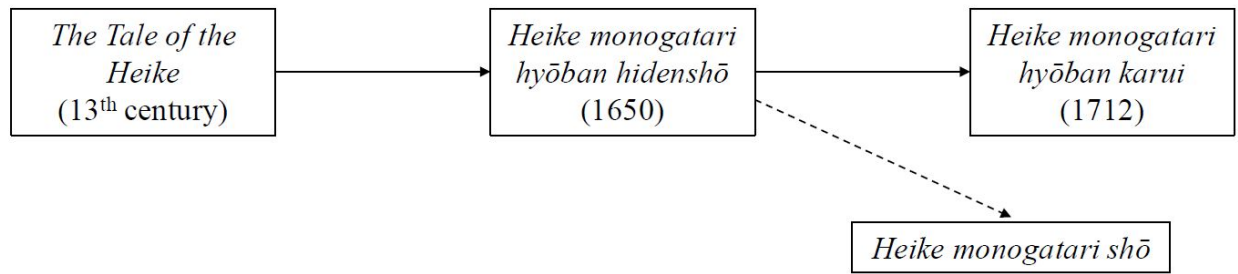


Fig. 2 The relationship between three *Tale of the Heike* commentaries

Importantly, both the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike monogatari shō* are self-sufficient commentaries; that is, a reader does not need to consult both and there are no direct cross-references between them.

In the following section, I discuss several aspects of the Edo-period perception of history that contributed to warriors' interest in the Genpei events of the twelfth century, and that made texts like the *Heike hyōban* useful and acceptable as scholarship.

4.6 The *Heike hyōban* in the Edo Period: *Gunsho* Texts and Attitudes to History

From the modern historical perspective, the *Heike hyōban* commentary cannot be considered a worthy historical text based on solid evidence that contributes to a clearer understanding of the Genpei events of the twelfth century. At best, it is a curious fictional text about events narrated in the *Tale of the Heike* that suited the interests of early Edo readers. This

²⁴¹ Horitake Tadaaki, "Heike monogatari no juyō to hen'yō: Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō 'den' no bu o chūshin to shite," *Ronkyū Nihon Bungaku* 64, no. 3 (May 1996): 21.

explains why historians and other scholars of the twentieth century did not devote any serious attention to this commentary or other similar texts that can be called *gunki hyōban*. Readers in the early Edo period, however, were not familiar with modern historical criteria that became the mainstream of historical scholarship since the Meiji period, and thus had fewer reasons to reject the commentary for not being historical scholarship. A commentary written in a specific context by an author or a group for a certain intended audience had its own function and influence that became misunderstood or less meaningful in a later different context.

As already discussed, in the seventeenth century a *hyōban* commentary was primarily a *gunsho* text that fit into a large corpus of other *gunsho* texts that were characterized by “criticism and retrospection [of historical events] from the standpoint of governance, or aimed at education of warriors in the time of peace.”²⁴² This was the overall theme of *gunsho* texts created in the first sixty years when the Tokugawa shogunate was established (1615-1674). As for the status of these *gunsho* works as history, Saeki Shin’ichi states:

[In the Edo period] history was a model with which to compare the present situation, it was meant to give an example for living in the present. (...) It is understandable that texts about practical military studies and ethical teachings, as well as historical texts and *gunki monogatari*, seen as works giving knowledge and teachings necessary for warriors’ life, that is, texts of enlightenment and admonition, were all put together into the “gunsho” category.²⁴³

This practical understanding of historical texts and their purpose is very different from the later modern view. It is true that in the late seventeenth century, due to efforts and influence of the Mito studies emphasizing “historical veracity” and verification of sources, texts and methods of military studies scholars, especially their “secret transmissions,” started to be criticized as false.

²⁴² Inoue Yasushi, “Yomimono to shite no kinsei gunsho,” *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 81, no. 4 (2004): 43.

²⁴³ Saeki Shin’ichi, “‘Gunki’ gainen no saikentō,” in *Chūsei no gunki monogatari to rekishi jojutsu*, ed. Saeki Shin’ichi (Chikurinsha, 2011), 616.

Despite this trend, *gunki hyōban* popular among warriors—starting with daimyo lords, and actively studied throughout the seventeenth century—were not entirely discarded and were still kept even in domain schools for warriors until the end of the Edo period. This continuity and resilience of *gunsho* texts, including various *hyōban* commentaries, may be explained by the dominant Edo-period view of history as the corpus of practical knowledge applicable in the present. A work’s practical or didactic usefulness outweighed its lack of rigorous veracity supported by verified sources.

Another point about Edo-period attitudes toward history, especially among members of warrior families, is the importance of family history. Military studies were often based on texts allegedly transmitted from famous figures of the past, and many *gunsho* texts explored events of the late Heian, medieval, and Warring States periods linking Edo-period daimyo and warrior families with families of the past. Events described in long texts like the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike*, and short late medieval local histories, affected many warrior families and were studied and discussed as family lore. A major peculiarity related to Edo-period views of the Genpei events and people, for example, is the genealogical connection claimed and accepted by warriors from the shogun to unemployed *rōnin* scholars. Rather than being an abstract part of Japan’s history, many of the historical figures were considered distant ancestors of one’s own family or of one’s daimyo lord. In this way, Edo-period warrior-officials found their own identity and felt affiliation with the past. The history of the distant or recent past thus literally became a matter tied to one’s province and even family.²⁴⁴ Large-scale early Edo projects of the bakufu to

²⁴⁴ Although “legitimization” has become a common term in recent research on Edo-period warrior elite, not all texts were intended for this purpose—especially those for internal use by family members. Family histories were indeed embellished and edited, but negative sides were also necessary for didactic purposes. Military studies scholars of the seventeenth century, many of whom were *rōnin* with complicated family histories in the Warring States and early Edo periods, compiled texts about the rise and fall of families or their branches, examining the causes of both. The tragic fate of the Heike as described in the *Tale of the Heike* was also useful for military studies commentators as a

compile genealogical histories of all the warrior families also contributed to the boom in *gunsho* production since local daimyo invited scholars to compile local histories based on family records and other documents, aiming to educate local warriors and consolidate their identity. Much has been written about false and fictional elements in these projects, but the fact remains that they were presented and accepted as true. For example, the famous scholar Yamaga Sokō was certainly not anticipating any mockery when he claimed descent from a warrior who defended emperor Antoku in the Dan-no-ura battle in 1185. In the early Edo period, such claims were meant to be taken seriously and were apparently accepted as legitimate as long as they were based on family documents, *gunki* texts, and other sources.

Official genealogies compiled by the bakufu trace Tokugawa Ieyasu's ancestry back to the ninth-century Seiwa Genji with Minamoto no Yoritomo and later Ashikaga Takauji belonging to its branches, too. Also, the Oda clan was linked directly to the branch of the Taira clan to which belonged, for example, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181). Thus, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) in the sixteenth century was seen as a direct descendant of Kiyomori, one of the main characters in the *Tale of the Heike*.²⁴⁵ Many daimyo lords of the Warring States and Edo periods also belonged to the Seiwa and other Genji branches, Fujiwara branches, and Taira branches such as Oda, Sō in Tsushima, Hirano, and Sōma (descendants of Taira no Masakado). The official bakufu genealogies were based on records of individual families and, despite far-fetched claims or spurious evidence in some cases, they represented a consensus among the elite families. Acceptance of such family histories means, for example, that the statement found in the end of Book Twelve of the *Tale of the Heike*, "So at last ended the

cautionary tale, and the actions and qualities of the Heike were critically analyzed as mistakes and weaknesses to be avoided by rulers and families.

²⁴⁵ Nitta Kanzō, *Sengoku jōshu shokaden: Tokugawa tozama daimyō hen* (Bensei Shuppan, 2001), 20-21.

Heike line,”²⁴⁶ was refuted or ignored in later genealogies since in the Edo period many provinces were governed by daimyo who belonged not only to the Heike (Taira), but to the lineage of Kiyomori (the Sō and the Oda), the Hōjō (the Hirano), or Taira no Masakado 平将門 (?-940) (the Sōma).

This genealogical information was not found only in bakufu or daimyo-related multi-volume family histories, but spread widely in texts intended for wide readership. One clear example, showing that these family histories were indeed common sense, is an appendix to a 1691 edition of the dictionary *Collection of Words for Everyday Use* (*Setsuyōshū* 節用集), with a table for the imperial line and also a list of warrior rulers with brief biographies.²⁴⁷ The first warrior ruler listed is Yoritomo, with the following note:

Third son of Minamoto, Director of the bureau of horses, left division (*samanokami* 左馬頭), Yoshitomo, tenth generation descendant of Seiwa emperor; ruled for twenty years, died in the first year of Shōji era (1199), first month, thirteenth day at the age of fifty-three. Regent (*shikken*): governor of Tōtōmi province, Taira no Tokimasa, the original ancestor of the Hōjō family.

The twentieth warrior ruler, Ashikaga Takauji, is “the second son of Minamoto Sadauji, Ashikaga governor of Sanuki province; ruled for twenty-five years (...).” The twenty-seventh warrior ruler is Nobunaga, “second son of Oda Nobuhide, twenty-first generation from Taira Chancellor Kiyomori, thirty-second generation from emperor Kanmu; ruled for ten years (...).” The thirty-second ruler is Tokugawa Ieyasu, who is described as “the first son of Nitta Minamoto Hirotada, twenty-fifth generation from emperor Seiwa; ruled for twenty-four years (...).”

²⁴⁶ *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Royall Tyler (New York: Viking Penguin, 2012), 684.

²⁴⁷ *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū*, Waseda University Library, http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_e0890/index.html.

According to this view of family histories, the main figures of the Genpei events described in the *Tale of the Heike* and other texts were related to other medieval and early modern rulers of Japan as their direct ancestors. For people living during the Edo period, this kind of connection reinforced the status of Genpei events and people as the origin of the contemporary socio-political order. Commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, for example, could thus appear as a meaningful and relevant effort to clarify and investigate the roots of the present society and its rulers. Also, claims made by members of the warrior class about their ancestors in the Genpei era did not seem unusual or unfounded, as they fit into the common view of the past. In other words, making claims about history or genealogy did not happen randomly, surprising readers or significantly conflicting with claims in other texts. *Gunsho* texts with warrior family histories and ethical teachings were continuously compiled in great numbers since the late medieval period by scholars invited for this purpose by daimyo lords, or by learned people affiliated with families. A work was usually commissioned by a lord, and the result was offered to him. Such texts were compiled from earlier documents, letters, and other texts seen as authoritative and to which a compiler had access.

In the early Edo period, this approach was considered sufficiently rigorous and satisfactory. Compilers had considerable freedom, often adding unsupported or partly fictional accounts, and yet this did not undermine the work's status as historical scholarship. This practice, often criticized from the standpoint of modern historical research, is likely a remnant and continuation of the established medieval tradition. As discussed by the literary scholar Komine Kazuaki, in the medieval period knowledge in the form of networks of commentaries was characterized by dynamism and variety. Unlike the modern tendency to fix a single correct interpretation or to unify readings into a single position, medieval commentators and their

readers were constructing a complicated, conflicting, and multi-layered “maze of readings” by continually adding different notes to an original text. These notes resembled a continued debate with each commentator, suggesting a fresh view, a personal opinion, “now” and “I,” that challenged or questioned previous comments and left the next reader with the opportunity to add his own view. The medieval rise of commentaries since the twelfth century consisted of the addition of new readings as a way to re-read earlier classical works according to present needs.²⁴⁸ Komine emphasizes that commentaries were not simply added but created, in order to bridge the gap with the previous era. In the process, the question of true or false was not the main focus, and even fantastic ideas of all kinds were abundantly proposed in discussions about the original meaning of a classical passage. Similarly, in historical matters, it was not the issue of truth vs. fiction, but historical myths that constituted the core of commentaries. The study of history was carried out by means of legends and myths, and took shape in the form of commentaries.²⁴⁹ From the modern perspective that privileges a single correct view, many of the medieval commentaries may seem strange and chaotic, but this network or maze of contradictory commentaries was an inherent property of medieval knowledge and scholarship.

Although a transitional century, the seventeenth century had many points in common with the medieval era, and the *gunki hyōban* texts demonstrate both continuities and changes. Rather than assessing these early Edo commentaries from the viewpoint of modern history, it makes sense to consider them as a part of medieval commentarial tradition. In this way, dismissing them as fictional and useless nonsense becomes anachronistic. Early Edo *gunsho* compilations, including commentaries on the *Taiheiki* and the *Tale of the Heike*, can be seen as

²⁴⁸ Komine Kazuaki, “Chūsei no chūshaku o yomu: yomi no meiro,” in *Chūsei no chi to gaku: ‘chūshaku’ o yomu*, ed. Komine Kazuaki and Mitani Kuniaki (Shinwasha, 1997), 11-44.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 41.

products of the medieval approach to scholarship. Thus, for example, a medieval esoteric Buddhist commentary revealing the “true” meaning of some *Ise monogatari* episode or waka poem is quite similar in its approach and methodology to a seventeenth-century comment in the *Heike hyōban* that reveals what “really” happened behind the scenes in the *Tale of the Heike* from a military studies viewpoint. In both cases, the original text served as the basis onto which new material was grafted. In this sense, the *Heike hyōban* did not stand out as an eccentric work among other traditional commentaries on poetry, Chinese and Japanese classics, Buddhist texts, and other types of scholarship. I discuss this topic in detail in Chapters 7 and 8, and now summarize the overall purposes and commentarial methods of the *Heike hyōban*, before giving a detailed analysis in Chapter 5.

4.7 The *Heike hyōban* and Other *Gunsho* Texts: Ways to Engage Readers

Discussing leadership, governance, power, history, diplomacy, strategy, society, and moral philosophy has been carried out for centuries in states and societies across the world. In cases when these universal concerns preoccupied rulers who wished to maintain their states, they gathered wise philosophers or advisors at their courts to assist in making decisions. Lectures or written works with political or moral advice given to a ruler constitute a genre of wisdom literature also known as “mirror for princes.” Greek and Roman (Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Seneca), Byzantine, Islamic (Ibn Khaldun), European (Erasmus, Machiavelli), Indian (*Panchatantra*, *Arthashastra*), and Chinese (Laozi, Confucius, Mencius) scholars and their works of this kind have been studied for centuries, influencing both the statesmen and the states. Unfortunately, apart from several historical works such as the *Nihon shoki* and the *Great Mirror*

(*Ōkagami* 大鏡, late eleventh century), and treatises of the “family precepts” (*kakun* 家訓) type, Japanese texts that belong to the “mirror for princes” didactic genre have not been the object of modern literary or historical scholarship. Modern histories and textbooks tend to emphasize individual rulers and generals, reinforcing the idea that they built cities, managed taxes, and fought battles, making decisions on the spot, intuitively, at will. It is true that in some cases, advice from a Zen monk or a decision by a council of nobles or warriors is mentioned, but educational background, the didactic texts used, and the formation of the statecraft philosophy of rulers or their advisors is rarely discussed in scholarship on premodern Japan. I suggest that in the late medieval, and especially in the early Edo period, *gunsho* texts, commentaries, and lectures based on them functioned as “mirrors for princes,” which were the main guides to statecraft and ethics for rulers and officials of various levels. In Chapter 8, I examine this point from a comparative perspective.

One of the groundbreaking studies on the topic of governance treatises by Wakao Masaki explains the content, philosophy, and influence of the *Taiheiki hyōban*, a *gunsho* text in the form of a commentary on the *Taiheiki*, on Edo-period politics and society.²⁵⁰ Investigating the ideological and intellectual context of the seventeenth century, Wakao Masaki emphasizes the significance of *gunsho* in the formation of “a common vision of ideal leadership.”²⁵¹ These works and lectures on them, originally aimed at the warrior elite, gained popularity among daimyo lords during the seventeenth century, and later permeated to lower levels of administrators, such as village headmen. The content of these works included “discussions of political and military matters, defining good government and the qualities of the enlightened

²⁵⁰ Wakao Masaki, *‘Taiheiki yomi’ no jidai: kinsei seiji shisōshi no kōsō* (Heibonsha, 1999).

²⁵¹ Wakao Masaki, “Ideological Construction and Books in Early Modern Japan—Political Sense, Cosmology, and World Views,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 52.

ruler.”²⁵² Functioning not only as treatises on military strategy and battle manoeuvres, these texts included discussions of broad political, social, religious, ethical matters. They also served as encyclopaedic guides to government, ideal leadership, state and household organization, and individual ethics and self-correction. They appealed to all members of the warrior class occupying or aspiring to official posts, and also to local commoner elites involved in smaller-scale management, such as heads of rural communities. Wakao Masaki’s main claim is that these *gunsho* texts “contributed to the construction of a common political sense, a perception of government and leaders shared by the elite and the masses.”²⁵³

Current studies of *gunsho* texts centre on the *Taiheiki hyōban*, a critical commentary on the characters and events narrated in the *Taiheiki*, but some of its content and overall format was common to many texts of this type. Most of the *gunsho* texts were written by members of military studies schools, and on many questions or topics, their views were far from uniform. Just as Buddhist sects or schools of poetry and Confucianism constituted vast complicated networks of people, texts, and views that varied from one branch to another evolving over time, the complex network of military studies scholars spread across Japan’s domains also held diverse views on the nature of ideal government, its goals, and its methods. For example, the *Heike hyōban* commentary, discussed in detail in subsequent chapters, belongs to the same kind as the *Taiheiki hyōban*, but does not necessarily share its views on all matters.

The didactic evaluative commentary *Heike hyōban* stands out from many other commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike* that explain antiquated or complicated vocabulary, personal and place names; specify sources of quotes or poems; and investigate historical sources. The *Heike hyōban* is not an aid that helps in the reading comprehension of the original text of the

²⁵² Ibid., 51.

²⁵³ Ibid., 53.

Tale of the Heike, and instead of brief explanatory notes it contains long comments on leadership and ethics that are similar to didactic essays. Instead of examining how events and people's actions are described in the *Tale of the Heike*, it critically discusses and evaluates those events and behaviours themselves, from an eclectic military studies point of view centred on statecraft. In other words, numerous episodes of the *Tale of the Heike* are used as a starting point for expressing the commentator's views on a wide range of related topics from military, political, ethical, psychological, and other perspectives. The material of the *Tale of the Heike* serves as a springboard for the author(s) to express his own views on the events and people described, and also to formulate didactic points applicable to matters of administration or ethical behaviour. The *Tale of the Heike*, with its panoramic depiction of different social contexts, makes it possible to discuss a very wide range of issues, ranging from appointments, corruption, battle tactics, and exiles, to court women and Buddhist monks.

Similar to other *gunsho* works, this commentary was likely conceived for a daimyo and high-level warrior readers, and the principal strategy used to attract attention and retain the interest of such readers is to discuss Genpei events as a cautionary story about the rise and fall of the Taira house. Their neglect of the ruler's duties, and their foolishness, arrogance, greed, and incompetence inevitably led to turmoil in the state and the dramatic fall of the Taira from power. The target audience of seventeenth-century rulers and their retainers are advised to comprehend the negative consequences of the mistakes made by the Taira, the retired emperor, and the Minamoto, too, in order not to repeat them and to succeed in keeping harmony and order in the state. Readers are consistently reminded of the responsibility of a ruler whose foolishness or weakness in decisions and personal qualities causes degradation and chaos in a family or a state.

Another strategy to engage readers is the revelation of additional information that is not found in the *Tale of the Heike*, but appears plausible. Actual reasons for an event or behind-the-scenes schemes are presented as secret “transmissions” (*den* 伝) that let readers feel initiated into curious and formerly unknown secrets of the Genpei events.

Discussion of human faults and problems of the twelfth-century Genpei conflict is carried out to a large extent from the military studies position that intricately combines Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto concepts and teachings, all of which are respected as wisdom of ancient sages. Also, the commentary venerates and sets as a model the most ancient period, which is seen as the ideal society with wise rulers. This is contrasted with the Latter Age, which includes both the twelfth century, when the Genpei conflict took place, and the subsequent times including the Edo period. Acceptance of this framework of continuous decline often puts the commentary into a pessimistic tone. At the same time, consistently making references to the ideal ancient past sets the standard too high, allowing the commentator to point out the defects and faults of the *Tale of the Heike* characters, as well as the people of the Latter Age in general. Discussion often fluctuates between the ideals of ancient sage rulers and the detailed examination of present immorality and decline, reminding a ruler in this fashion about the high standards which one should strive to attain, and about the proximity of inevitable failure in the case of neglect or weakness. The emphasis on corruption of the Latter Age serves to highlight the growing difficulty of maintaining order, and the special effort required on the part of a ruler to improve the state or keep it from sliding further into chaos.

In the early Edo period, the growing stability and peaceful prosperity of the Tokugawa shogunate, together with the bureaucratization of the warrior class, raised concerns among members of the warrior-class about the weakening of warrior qualities and abilities, and the risk

of their indulgence in luxury, comfort, and leisure. Powerful and wealthy daimyo lords had many opportunities to fall into decadence. Their retainers and local warriors, too, had to be reminded of their warrior identity. This anxiety was apparently shared by the warrior class, and the fear of losing their own identity and of bringing their own house, domain, or the entire state to ruin was one of the driving forces behind efforts to invite scholars to compile *gunsho* texts and give lectures on local history, feats of past generals, the need for both the civil and the martial abilities, benevolent rule, and similar topics. Production of *gunsho* texts in the seventeenth-century, and the rise and continuous existence of numerous schools of military studies since the early Edo period were all part of the effort of the warrior class to maintain their identity and keep the martial component alive as an essential element of upbringing and worldview.

In accordance with the view of history as a “mirror” or model for the present, major events of the past—such as the fourteenth-century situation described in the *Taiheiki* or the twelfth-century events depicted in the *Tale of the Heike*—supplied suitable material for discussions on leadership, battles, schemes, religion, or ethics. While direct criticism of current events was problematic and almost useless for didactic purposes (their outcome still remained unknown), assessment of past events was the preferred choice. By means of a commentary, the past could be evaluated and discussed as a general universal lesson which contains hints relevant to the present. This attitude to the past, for instance, is one of the reasons why ancient texts of Chinese philosophers, for example, remained interesting and useful for later readers for many centuries. Written as observations and discussions of states, societies, and human nature, ancient classics were seen as universal wisdom that was applicable to any society or person. In other words, reading Mencius, Sunzi, or ancient histories was not done to know more about ancient China, but rather, to acquire practical knowledge indispensable to activities in one’s life.

In a similar way, discussing the Genpei war in the *Heike hyōban* commentary with references to the military classics of China, Buddhist or Confucian texts, and historical *setsuwa*-like legends, results in a compendium of didactic materials presented as directly relevant to the present, and thus worthy of study and discussion. The commentary evaluates the mistakes of the Genpei era and draws from them conclusions, warnings, and advice for later rulers, treating the Genpei events as timeless examples for all subsequent times. Moreover, both the Genpei past and the Edo present were seen as the Latter Age, with shared problems and potential risks, and together with the discussion of universal human qualities, this made it possible to derive practical lessons to which Edo-period warrior-officials could relate.

A typical method used in the commentary is not simply stating that one should be benevolent and wise, but demonstrating that negligence, greed, or lack of wisdom will lead to problems, result in family or state troubles, and eventually cause one's downfall. The text of admonition cannot make its reader, especially a daimyo lord, behave in a specific way, and merely warns about likely negative consequences in case one chooses not to follow its advice.

Much attention is given to the signs of the rise or fall of a state and the qualities and decisions of the ruler. The original *Tale of the Heike* includes detailed accounts of exile which invite pity for the sad fate or misfortune of the person. In contrast, the *Heike hyōban* commentary highlights the careless actions and mistaken decisions that led to exile, and tends to criticize—very harshly in some cases—rather than express sympathy. The emphasis is on the need to know the situation and to foresee the course of events, preventing trouble before it arises. Some figures are criticized more than others, but in general, the commentary does not treat any character as ideal, and evaluates specific actions in a given context: a retired emperor is criticized for wrong

appointments, a courtier for taking part in a plot, a general for incompetence, and a priest for lack of foresight.

Discussion of schemes also occupies an important position: a general or a ruler should not only know when and how to use them, but should also anticipate plots from opponents to avoid being caught unawares. A ruler is also consistently reminded to act for the sake of harmony and order in the state, and not for private self-interest. In general, the commentary focuses on the priority of the public (state, society) over the private (self-interest); the ruler's mind and intentions (which must be benevolent, wise, and moderate); the importance of avoiding human weaknesses such as luxury and greed, which can be used to lure the ruler into trouble; the importance of surrounding oneself with wise people; and the need to be careful with appointments, punishments, and rewards. Thus, the commentary and other *gunsho* texts aim to cultivate responsibility and care for one's state, and also to cultivate awareness of negative consequences to which a weakness or a wrong decision may lead.

This chapter's discussion of the *hyōban* type of commentary demonstrates its links with the historiographical tradition of adding evaluations and discussion; the custom of admonishing one's superiors; and the practice of historical investigation for scholarly, didactic, and practical purposes. After explaining the main features of *hyōban* commentaries, I considered their functions as tools for scholarly debates and as sources of information complementing the original texts. Then, I situated the particular *Heike hyōban* among other commentaries of the Edo period related to the *Tale of the Heike*, and summarized its didactic goals and techniques. The next chapter will continue to explore this work's commentarial approaches and content by examining numerous passages on a variety of topics related to governance, warriors, and ethics.

Chapter 5 *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*: A Didactic Commentary for Rulers

The previous chapters have examined various topics and texts related to statecraft and leadership. Following a broad overview of military studies in East Asia and premodern Japan and a description of *gunsho* texts, I began to explore *hyōban* commentaries. In this chapter, I take a closer look at the content of a specific *Heike hyōban* commentary in order to illustrate the larger themes of this dissertation with concrete examples. Selected passages clarify the commentarial approaches used and the didactic stance on statecraft and warrior-related issues. The commentary underscores the difference between the medieval *Tale of the Heike* (hereafter, the *Heike*) and its Edo-period reception by scholars of military studies.

5.1 Commentarial Approaches and Techniques in the *Heike hyōban*

5.1.1 Filling in Gaps within the *Heike*

The *Heike* narrates events of the late twelfth century, focusing on the rise and fall of the Heike (Taira) family. This frame defines the structure and content of the work, bringing attention to the overall decline of the state and society, highlighting the excesses and transgressions of the Heike that eventually led to their downfall. Together with the elements stemming from its background in courtly and Buddhist literature, the *Heike* also contains traces of commentaries: critical messages in the form of the narrator's evaluation of the events described, or reactions of the characters to the situations they witness. The overall structure, tone, and content of the work are influenced by Confucian views of state and Buddhist concepts, such as karmic retribution. The *Heike* is not a neutral list of events, but a work that expresses a specific worldview and portrays historical events from the viewpoint of court nobility and religious (primarily Buddhist)

institutions. As a portrayal of historical events, the work necessarily highlights a limited set of events, omitting others or mentioning them only briefly. Moreover, the *Heike* contains ambiguities, embellishments, and gaps that incite later readers to discussion and investigation in the form of commentaries.

One of the early Edo commentaries, the *Heike hyōban*, created on the basis of *Heike* content, can be described as a collection of critical passages that complement the comments and evaluative remarks found in the *Heike* itself. In this sense, the *Heike hyōban* continues, expands, and confronts the “world” of the original work.

5.1.1.1 Adding a New Perspective

Instead of a radical rereading, a common technique is to shift the focus to an aspect that is secondary or fully absent in the *Heike*. Staying close to the original narrative and adding new relevant detail, the commentator achieves the effect of emphasizing the core significance of an episode, clarifying and deepening its meaning. For example, the story of Giō is meant to illustrate how “Lord Kiyomori ... dismissed censure, ignored mockery, and indulged every odd whim.”²⁵⁴ The *Heike hyōban* comment repeats this idea, linking it directly to the concept of a ruler’s responsibility for the state. Kiyomori’s case is taken as a confirmation of the formulated principle about a ruler’s behaviour and the state’s fate.

Evaluation says: A state breaks down and a person perishes not due to outside matters, but it is only caused by the ruler indulging in desires in his heart. Thus, Kiyomori, who has reached the post of Prime Minister and the Junior First Rank as a general of the empire, loving such people of vice is the basis of the eventual downfall of his state and himself due to his own heart. [...] although it is insignificant that this one lay monk’s

²⁵⁴ *The Tale of the Heike*, trans. Royall Tyler, 15.

desire led him to love a single woman, both high and low at the court indulged in this way. [...]

評曰。国を破^{やぶり}身を亡^{ほろぼ}す事は外の物にあらず。只其君の心中の嗜慾^{たゞ}を恣^{ぎよく}にな
すに依^{よつ}て也。然に清盛天下の武将^ぶとして。大政^{じやう}大臣^{じう}従一位までに至る身の。
かゝる邪道^{じや}の族^{やから}を寵愛^{てうあい}せらるゝ事。是終に吾心^{ついで}故に。其国其身を亡^{ほろぼ}すの基^{もと}也。
(...) 今此入道一人の嗜慾^{ぎよく}故に。一人の女^{あい}を愛し給事^{わづか}纔^もなりといへども。九重^こ
の上下此道を玩^{もてあそぶ} (...) ²⁵⁵

In contrast to the *Heike*, the commentary views dancers such as Giō negatively, as “people of vice.” The main point added in the commentary, and not stated directly in the original work, is the responsibility of a ruler and his influence on the state.²⁵⁶ The imitation of a ruler’s behaviour by his subordinates is one of the common didactic techniques to remind a ruler about his responsibility to the state. The text of this episode in the *Heike* does not provide any evidence supporting this detail, but the commentary relying on precedents from the history of China (not quoted in the above passage) considers it an intrinsic property of a ruler. By means of this plausible detail, the main point about the harm to the state is clarified and highlighted.

5.1.1.2 Adding New Details

In some cases, without any major changes to the overall story, the commentator adds a specific detail that helps better illustrate a didactic point. For example, in the question and answer dialogue about selecting people to be appointed as magistrates, the discussion centres on the intelligence of a person—the ruler in this case—who makes the selection, and on the

²⁵⁵ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:6 “Giō”).

²⁵⁶ The *Heike karui* commentary notes as follows: “I think that this section is not worthy of a comment. However, [the author of the *Heike hyōban*] certainly created this comment to caution against wanton desires of generals.”

按此段不及評に然るに此評を立しは大将の邪欲^{ジャヨク}を戒^{イマシメ}たるものなるべし
Heike monogatari hyōban karui, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:6 “Giō”).

criticism of his appointing incompetent people who nevertheless succeed in gaining many supporters. An example illustrating such a situation is the Heike family.

[...] in the age of the Heishi, too, after the death of Shigemori, people with many supporters in the family were appointed to various posts, but those selected were all similar to one another, and there were eventually no excellent wise people in the government at all. Therefore, disordered behaviour in all matters occurred daily. Thus, in such a period, a truly evil deed, when it accords with a superior's mood, is carried out, and as for something that will truly benefit the state, when it does not conform with a superior's mood, [people] keep silent, pretending not to hear, and do not admonish. Thus, the world reached a state when people only cared about their own fame and gain, never knowing about loyalty. Therefore, when a lord is not knowledgeable and wise, it is difficult for intelligent and wise people to appear. So, how can one reason about appointments unconditionally? [...]

(...) 平氏の世にも。重盛死し給ひてより後は。其家中の方人多き者をもつて。それ／＼の役を司しめたりといへども。撰出したる者。何れも同ごとくなる者にして。更に秀たる賢者。終に世にあらはれざりき。故萬事の作法みだりがはしき事。日々重れり。さればかやうの時代には。正しき邪行たりといへども。上の機嫌に順べき時は進で是を用。正しく天下の益と成べき事をも。上の機嫌に應ぜざる時は。口をつぐみ耳を愚にして是を諫ず。所以に人々。自己の名利をのみつくのひ。嘗て忠義をしらざる世となれり。故君明智なくして。賢智あらはれがたし。然ば人を舉る事。如何一概にして是。説得けんや。
(...) ²⁵⁷

In the *Heike*, appointments of the sons and daughters of Kiyomori, and the prosperity of the Heike family are described; however, the reasons for their selection, apart from status by birth, are not mentioned. In the commentary, Kiyomori is blamed for not being wise and selecting people with support in the family, rather than those having ability and knowledge. In this way, minor adjustments enable the commentator to make the Heike example better fit the framing discussion about appointments.

²⁵⁷ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

5.1.1.3 Adding New Legends

Another technique, characteristic of “transmission” comments, consists of adding a story in the form of gossip, or behind-the-scenes information explaining the scheme behind an event. Such stories are often based on unspecified anonymous sources and, in some cases, only the title of a work is given. These texts have an unclear history, and most of them are probably fabricated or non-existent works with titles that suggest links with figures involved in military studies, such as Kiichi Hōgen—the yin-yang master known as the mentor of Minamoto no Yoshitsune—or the Tada (Minamoto) family of the Settsu region. Here is one example of an anonymous legend that reveals the existence of Yoritomo’s plot related to the battle of the Fuji River, and which provides details about it.

Transmission says: They say that Yoritomo sent people to various places between Tōtōmi province and Suruga, and had them say things such as “there is news that all the Eastern Provinces follow the Genji, the number of their people [is enough to] fill mountains and plains, warriors of Kai and Shinano have revolted and will surround the rear of Heishi forces.”

The Heike warriors were defeated after getting scared of the waterbirds rising from the Fuji marshes. It is due to the general’s inability that they were diverted by sound because of confusion of the ears. In general, listening to sounds of things is an important matter in the army. Ears and eyes are used day and night, but during the day eyes are more important and during the night ears are more important. As for listening to sounds, there is listening to Heaven and Earth, and also listening to things. These two are important among sounds and voices. A general must know this. [There is a] secret transmission.

伝曰頼朝遠江国と駿河の間に。所々に人を出し。東国はみな源氏に随て。人数山野に充滿。甲斐信濃の兵ども起て平氏の後をかこむべきよし沙汰有など云せられしと云り

平氏の兵。富士沼の水鳥のたつに驚て敗北する事。是大将の不才によつて。音に転ぜらるゝは。耳の惑所也。凡軍中にて物の音を聞事大事也。耳目は昼夜用る物也といへども。昼は目をもつてさきとし。夜は耳をもつて先とす。音を聴事

天地の聴^{ちやう}と云事有。又物の聴^{をんじやう}と云事有。此二つは音声の大事也。大将知らずんばあるべからず。口伝²⁵⁸

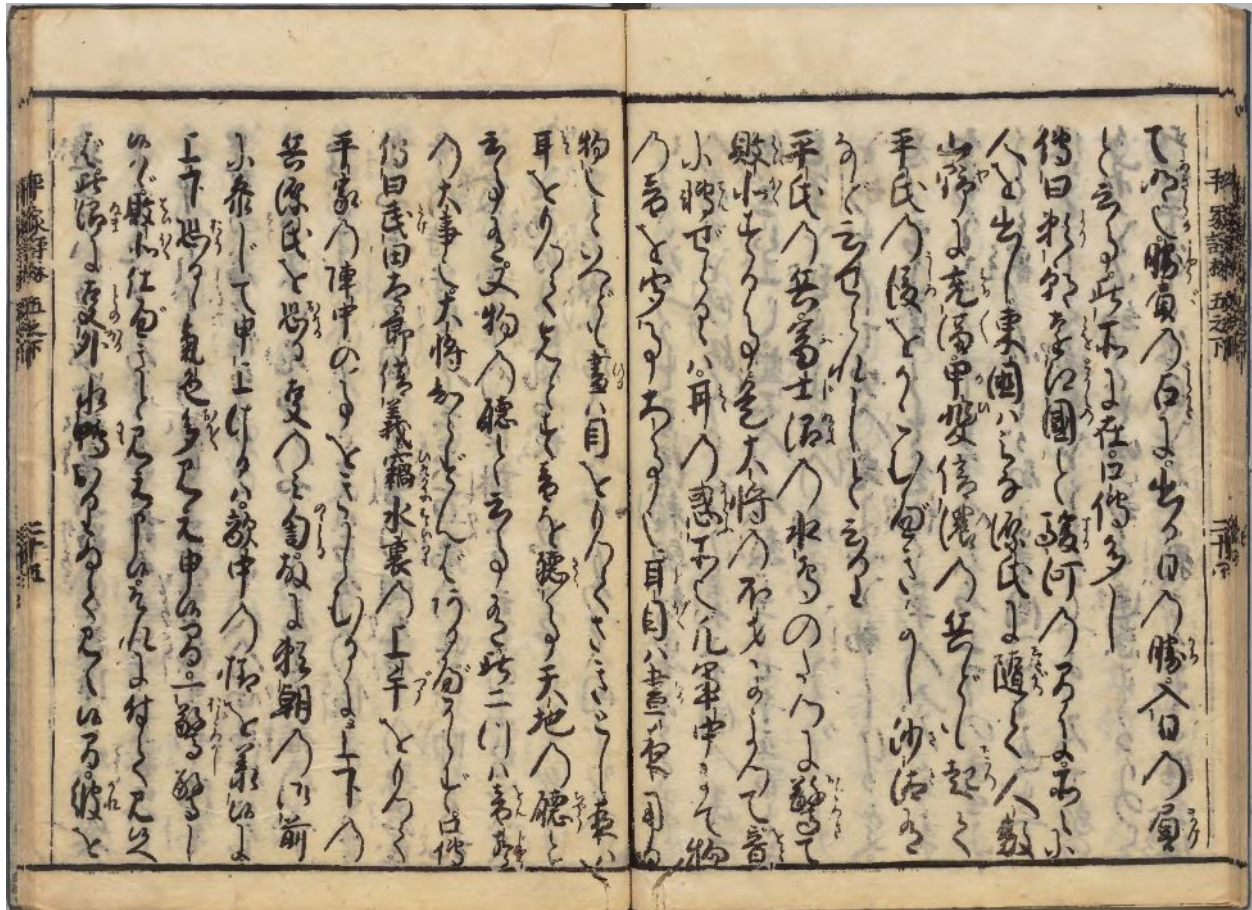


Fig. 3 A page from the *Heike hyōban* with comments about “The Fuji River” section of the *Heike*²⁵⁹

Thus, according to this rumour, the panic among Heike forces was not accidental, but deliberately planned by Yoritomo, who is often shown as a skilled strategist and schemer in the commentary. This hearsay is presented as a secret transmitted within a military studies school, or as a real rumour circulating since the time of the Genpei conflict. No source is given, and most likely it is a fictional account imagined by the commentator to relate his own views on strategy

²⁵⁸ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 10 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:11 “The Fuji River”).

²⁵⁹ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 10, page 27. National Archives of Japan, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/M2015071310592957021>.

and schemes, and also to attract interest to the commentary. As a rumour explaining what could have happened, it is detailed and fits the situation. In short, this information does not pretend to be accurate and, at the same time, it is hard to dismiss as fully absurd since it is logical as a strategy, even if no historical sources confirm it. This approach is effective if the commentary aims to teach strategy and not to investigate what actually happened. This kind of historical gossip supposedly reveals the secret side of events described in the *Heike* approaches—in fact, works of fiction, such as medieval *setsuwa* legends and anecdotes.

The following is a longer example of the supplementation of an event described in the *Heike* with a separate legend—an apocryphal story that reveals the supposed motivation or scheme. As seen from the term, “it is said that” (*to unnun* と云々), this dialogue between young Kiyomori and the Shingon priest Kakuban that supposedly took place in 1141 is presented as hearsay, a rumour, or information that was secretly transmitted in person.

Transmission says: In the first year of Eiji (1141), the year of the rooster, Kiyomori asked holy priest Kakuban, the founder of Negoroji temple: “Seeking military authority and nurturing warriors and ordinary people, by what kinds of plans does one exercise authority?” Kakuban said: “Since in Japan people give up soon and have much wicked wisdom and little true wisdom, it is not possible to act by benevolent and righteous ways, and to govern people by directly showing the Heavenly Way of the Sages. Therefore, one uses deities and Buddhas, and uses benevolence to draw people into the Heavenly Way of righteousness. Thus, seeking military authority, too, when one initially intends to spread benevolence and righteousness in their minds, there should be an expedient means of respecting Buddhas and deities first and borrowing their authority. First one believes in Buddhism, then one can use deities. This is just a wise way to act. I will not tell you about it now. Basically, you should understand the overall meaning of Buddha’s expedient means.” Kiyomori asked: “What kind of Buddha’s expedient means?” Kakuban said: “There is no Buddha in the Western Pure Land, but someone preaching says that he exists. This is an expedient means.” Kiyomori criticized: “Saying that he exists, while essentially there is no Buddha in Pure Land, and misleading people, is it not a lie and a bad thing?” Kakuban said: “Even if one shows foolish and dull ordinary people that the Buddha is in their bodies, they will never believe it. Therefore, one points at a place in the West and shows that it is found outside, making people pray to the

Western Pure Land. When dull people devote themselves to praying to it, their body is the Western Pure Land, and their heart/mind is Buddha. Is it not the expedient means to guide people? In front of an enlightened [person] there is no Western Pure Land, and in front of [a person in] delusion there is one. Looking at it following this reasoning, Buddha's expedient means is not at all a lie. Thus, now you too, having the great way of benevolence and justice in your heart, support military authority using this expedient means for the time being.” It is said that Kiyomori learned about this technique at this time. Thus, it should be understood that he rebuilt the Great Pagoda following this reasoning.

傳^{てんに}曰^い。永治元年^{かのとのとり}辛酉^{ね ごろでら}のとし。清盛^{かい}。根来寺^{かくばん}の開山^い覚鑊^{もとめ}上人^しに向て。武威^いを求^{もとめ}て士民^{し じん}を育^{はぐくみ}候^はには。いかなる^{はかりこと}謀^いをもつて威^いをふるひ候^{とふ}はんやと問^{もん}。覚鑊^{ばん}曰^い。それ日本^{にっぽん}は人の根^{こん}氣^{せう}少^{せう}根^{こん}にして。邪智^{じや}多^{おほく}正智^{しやう}少^{すくな}し。故^{ゆゑ}に仁義^{にぎぎ}の法^{はふ}を行^{をこなふ}事^じ。直^{じき}に聖人^{せいじん}天道^{てんたう}を示^{しめし}て。人^{ひと}を治^{をさ}る事^{こと}叶^{かなは}ず。是^{こゝろ}によつて神^{かみ}を用^{もちひ}。仏^{ぶつ}を用^{もちひ}て。仁^にをもつて義^ぎの天道^{てんたう}に引入^{いれい}る者也^{なり}。故^{ゆゑ}に武威^いを求^{もとむ}る事^{こと}も。本^{もと}其^{その}心中^{しんちゆう}に仁義^{にぎぎ}を広^{ひろ}めんと思^{おも}ふ時^{とき}は。先^{まづ}仏^{ぶつ}神^{かみ}を敬^{うやまつ}て。其^{その}威^いをかる方便^{ほうべん}有^あべし。先^{まづ}仏^{ぶつ}法^{はふ}をさきに信^{しん}じて。次^{つぎ}に神^{かみ}を用^{もちひ}べし。其^{その}行^{てだて}たゞ智恵^{ちゑ}のなす所^{ところ}也^{なり}。今^{いま}教^{をしゆる}にあらず。凡^{おほそ}仏^{ぶつ}の方便^{べん}をもつて大意^{たいい}を悟^{さと}べし。清盛^{せいせい}問^{もん}云^{いふ}。いかなるか仏^{ぶつ}の方便^{ほうべん}。覚鑊^{ばん}曰^い。西方^{さいほう}十^{じゅう}万^{まん}億^{いふ}土^どに仏^{ぶつ}なし。然^{しか}を説^とて有^あと云^{いふ}。是^{こゝろ}方便^{ほうべん}也^{なり}。清盛^{せいせい}難^{なん}じて曰^い。本来^{ほんらい}西方^{さいほう}に仏^{ぶつ}なし。然^{しか}を有^あと云^{いふ}て人^{ひと}を惑^{まどは}す。是^{こゝろ}偽^{いつはり}にして悪^{あしき}事^{こと}にあらずや。覚鑊^{かくばん}云^{いふ}愚癡^{ぐち}暗鈍^{あんどん}の凡^{ぼん}夫^ぶに。己^こ身^{しん}の仏^{ぶつ}を示^{しめす}といふとも。嘗^{かつ}て信^{しん}ずべからず。故^{ゆゑ}に西方^{さいほう}に所^{ところ}をさし。外^{ぐわい}に有^あとしめして西方^{さいほう}を念^{ねん}ぜしむ。愚鈍^{ぐどん}の衆生^{しゆじやう}。一心^{いっしん}をみだらず是^{こゝろ}を念^{ねん}ずる時^{とき}に。其身^{そのしん}即^{すなはち}西方^{さいほう}にして。其^{その}心^{しん}即^{すなはち}仏^{ぶつ}也^{なり}。是^{こゝろ}衆生^{しゆじやう}を導^{みちびく}方便^{べん}にあらずや。悟^{さと}の前^{さき}には西方^{さいほう}なし。迷^{まよひ}の前^{さき}に西方^{さいほう}有^あ。この理^{ことわり}によつて見^み時^{とき}は。仏^{ぶつ}の方便^{ほうべん}は全^{まつたく}偽^{いつはり}にあらず。故^{ゆゑ}に今^{いま}御邊^{ごへん}も。仁義^{にぎぎ}の大道^{だうだう}を心^{しん}とせば。暫^{しばらく}この方便^{ほうべん}をもつて武威^いをたすけよと云^{いふ}々々。時^{とき}に清盛^{せいせい}この術^{じゆつ}をつたへしと云^{いふ}々々。故^{ゆゑ}に大塔^{たうたう}建^{こん}立^{りやう}いたさる事^{こと}。この理^{ことわり}によつて悟^{さと}べし²⁶⁰

Kiyomori asks Kakuban for advice about government and warrior authority, and the priest tells him to use Buddhas and Shinto deities as an expedient means to guide people to righteousness,

²⁶⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 5 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 3:5 “The Rebuilding of the Great Pagoda”).

and to enhance one's authority as a warrior ruler. This dialogue is placed as a background to Kiyomori's rebuilding of a pagoda on Mount Kōya, as described in the *Heike*. Even though examples of temple construction used for political purposes can be found in ancient Japanese history onward, the direct concern with military authority (*bui*) and the image of a priest as an advisor to a warrior ruler fit better with the late medieval and early Edo periods, rather than the late Heian era of Kiyomori. The context familiar to the daimyo, the intended audience of the commentary, is seamlessly projected back to the time of Kiyomori. The story thus creates an earlier precedent for the common actual practice of late medieval and early modern daimyo. The technique of using expedient means, and the attitude that a ruler is advised to have had regarding religious beliefs and authority, are didactic issues that are more important for the commentator than is the historical veracity of this particular dialogue. The commentator does not state his attitude to this episode explicitly, but neither does he refute Kakuban's argumentation. Moreover, highlighting good intentions, benevolence and justice in one's heart as prerequisites for using the technique is consistent with the commentary's overall emphasis on heart/mind and intention. This manipulation of people is justified as an indirect, effective way to turn ignorant and wicked people to the way of the sages. Other sections of the commentary, despite sharp criticism of Latter Age monks who resort to violence and seek private gain, make a similar point calling on rulers to maintain Buddhism and Shinto and to build temples, too.

Similar to historical *setsuwa* and rumours in general, this story cannot be supported by definite evidence and yet it is sufficiently consistent with the context to be considered plausible. Kiyomori (1118-1181) and Kakuban (1095-1144) were indeed contemporaries and in 1141 when their talk took place, Kiyomori was twenty-three and Kakuban forty-six. Kakuban was known as

a prominent Shingon monk and he is credited with founding the Negoroji temple complex.²⁶¹

This legend was likely created by the commentator, but it is equally probable that it is a story that circulated in the medieval period, or a legend that can be traced to an earlier medieval source.

In the *Heike*, Kiyomori as a governor is charged with rebuilding the pagoda on Mount Kōya, and he visits it upon completion. Going into the inner sanctum, Kiyomori is addressed by an old monk who mysteriously appears. The monk, later taken to be the famous monk and scholar Kūkai 空海 (774-835 CE) himself, tells Kiyomori to restore the Itsukushima shrine, a deed that will raise Kiyomori to an unrivaled rank and office. After restoring Itsukushima, Kiyomori sees in a dream a messenger from the goddess who brings a blade to pacify the land, and the oracle warns him against misconduct. This supernatural legend emphasizing faith and miraculous events is reinterpreted in the commentary as a talk with a real monk who gives advice on using faith to establish authority. Except for the supernatural element, both stories essentially discuss the same technique.

The above examples show that the commentary takes a flexible approach to the *Heike* content which ranges from addition of minor details to inclusion of long apocrypha. This approach enables the commentator to stay as close to or far from the *Heike* original as necessary in each case to make a didactic statement. Added information is not random fiction, but plausible details that not only help clarify the causes and consequences of events, but also reveal additional information that helps formulate principles related to governance and strategy.

²⁶¹ In the early Edo period, Negoroji was restored by the Kii Tokugawa (in Wakayama) after its partial destruction by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the figure of Kakuban, as well as his Shingon school, were recognized and held in esteem. In other words, Kakuban, Negoroji, and temple reconstruction were not abstract remote historical matters, but practical current events for the creators and readers of this commentary in the early Edo period.

5.1.2 A Didactic Lecture with Advice and Admonishment to a Superior

The commentary *Heike hyōban* uses the content of the *Heike* original as illustrative material and evidence supporting more general principles of statecraft and ethics expounded by the commentator, who assumes the role of a teacher and lecturer. The text of the *Heike hyōban* commentary contains elements characteristic of spoken interaction, such as advice to a ruler or a lecture given to disciples. This style may be a purely formal feature aimed at enhancing the status of the text by making it appear to be lecture notes from a talk or a debate taking place in the presence of a daimyo lord, for example. Such events were commonly held in many domains by invited scholars of Confucian or military studies who combined functions of family and domain historians, counselors, and teachers of a lord's family and retainers. Scarcity of information about the circumstances of the commentary's production and compilation does not allow any definite conclusions, but there is a possibility that the *Heike hyōban* is based on a series of lectures or reading discussion sessions held by a scholar or by a group of retainers in one of the domains. It may also be a text created for the purpose of demonstrating erudition and discussion skills of interest to a daimyo lord or a group of retainers who wish to learn more and hire its author as mentor, possibly forming a new school of military studies.

Each section typically begins with a discussion of specific content found in the *Heike*, then moves to more general and abstract matters, and eventually ends with direct advice, a warning, or a didactic message. The commentator's choice of passages from the original text for explication or evaluation was not random, but determined by their didactic potential.

Let us consider several examples when the readers—or listeners, in cases when the text was read aloud in a lecture setting—are addressed directly by the commentator. The following comment discusses the measures that Kiyomori's took to forestall criticism, as described in the

Heike. The discussion opens with the remark that “such a matter should not be evaluated,” suggesting that it is obvious, self-explanatory or even absurd; and thus, not meriting of commentary. The reason for appending a long discussion is that people now occupy the Latter Age of decline,²⁶² and thus lack sufficient understanding and proper judgment, and need additional guidance:

Evaluation says: Although such a matter should not be evaluated, I add the comment for [people of] the Latter Age. Since the Lay Monk [Kiyomori] had many defects, he grew suspicious, thinking that there certainly have to be people in society who deride and criticize him. In general, a suspicious mind arises due to a person thinking about hiding from society those bad things that one has, and thinking that perhaps someone already knows leads to accidental suspicion that certainly harms innocent people, too. An ancient person said: “A suspicious mind, an avaricious mind are the basis of great turmoil.” When a person does not have bad things, even if others criticize, one should not fear anything at all. Suspicion about those below arises entirely because those above distrust [unjustly]. When a small-minded person suspects, he has suspicion in his mind and acts with that mind. When a wise person (*kunshi* 君子) suspects, he has suspicion in his mind and restrains himself. A small-minded person suspects for his own sake, and a wise person suspects for the sake of others. So, due to a single suspicion, a great number of mistakes happen in human interaction. A person should thoroughly understand this Way. [...]

評曰。かゝる事は評すべき事なしといへ共。末世の為に評を加。是入道の身に
僻事多きが故に。定て世上に嘲嗟諷者有べきと思ふ疑起れり。惣じて疑の
心と云ものは。己が身に悪き事有て。世上に是をかくしをくとおもふが故に。
若早知人有かと思ひて。計ざる疑を生じて。科なき者をも害する事有べし。
古人曰。疑心欲心は大乱の基と云り。我身に悪き事なき時は。縦人は是を諷事有
とも。更に憚事有べからず。下を疑こゝろの起る事は。皆上の僻めるが故也。
小人の疑は。疑の心を取立て。其心をもつて事を起す。君子の疑は。疑の心
をおこして。吾身の事をとゞむる。小人は身の為に疑。君子は人の為に疑。さ

²⁶² It was believed in Japan that the Latter Age began in 1052 CE. The commentator, however, is likely referring to people living in the seventeenth and later centuries.

れば此疑の一つによつて。人間の^{まじはり}交にそくばくのあやまち多き物也。ひととして^{よく}能々此道^{きはむ}を極べし。 (...) ²⁶³

The case of Kiyomori lets the commentator discuss such general topics as suspicion and criticism, with a suggestion about correct attitude in the end.

The next passage illustrates the typical conclusion of a comment in which a piece of direct advice is given:

[...] Therefore, in order to destroy an evil enemy and pacify the state in turmoil, one should carry out everything in combination with an understanding of schemes. Many people, however, claim [to act] for a scheme, but easily act for their own greed, claim [to act] for humanity and justice, but from the start it is difficult to get rid of self-interest. Thus, be thoroughly circumspect and understand the Great Way! [...]

(...) 故に悪敵^{あく}をほろぼし。天下の乱をしづめん為には。権謀^{けんぼう}の心得^{かね}を兼て。何なる事をもなし行べし。然とも人。多^{おほく}は権謀^{けん}の為と云て身の利欲^{よく}をばなし安く。仁義^{じんぎ}の為とて始^{はしめ}より私欲^{しよく}を遠ざけぬる事かたし。故に能々^{よく / つゝしむ}謹^{さとり}で大道を了給へ
(...) ²⁶⁴

In this case, a general who seeks to restore order in the state is advised to rely on schemes and plots, but also warned about the ease with which people fall into greed and self-interest, forgetting about state interests. Since the person addressed is a general or a ruler, in this and similar cases, the advice is expressed with the honorific imperative form used toward superiors (*tamae* 給へ). The commentary regularly seeks to recreate the situation of an advisor or retainer admonishing a lord or a high-ranking official about the proper principles and methods of statecraft.

The next example is also advice on the topic of a ruler's relations with women, which is based on the story about Kiyomori's love of *shirabyōshi* dancers. The comment opens with the

²⁶³ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 "The Rokuhara Boys").

²⁶⁴ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:5 "One Man's Glory").

following warning: “Evaluation says: A state breaks down and a person perishes not due to outside matters, but it is only caused by the ruler indulging in desires in his heart.”²⁶⁵ The concluding advice essentially calls on rulers to put state matters above private love affairs:

[...] Thus, rulers of later ages, if you wish your house and state to last long, be glad about remonstrations from loyal retainers and refrain from your mistakes! However, it does not mean that one has to abandon this way [of love] fully. The person who can rule the state should have his mind/heart equivalent to the state. Thus, what to take and what to abandon? Only when one is not fond of this [too much], such things by themselves do not harm the rule. Moreover, even such things should certainly be used, according to circumstances, as a scheming technique. Consider this deeply, love for the [benefit of one’s] rule and abandon it for the [benefit of one’s] rule!

(...) 所以に後世の人主。其家其国の長久ならん事を願給はゞ。忠臣の諫を
悦身よろこびの僻事ひがをとゞめ給へ。然ども此道かう一向すてよと云にはあらず。天下国家を
治おさむべき人は。其心天下に等ひとしかるべし。然ば何を取とり。何をすてんや。只我好わがこのまざ
る時は。かくのごとくのもの自をのづから世かいの害をなさず。其上かゝる者と云とも。是
又権謀けんぼうの一術じゆつには。時によつて必用る事も有べし。深鑑ふかくあんかみ給ひて。世の為あいに愛
し。世の為に是をすて給へ²⁶⁶

The commentator directly addresses his readers as “rulers of later age(s).” In other comments, this formula takes the form of “rulers of the Latter Age” (*masse no jinshu* 末世の人主). As noted by Horitake Tadaaki, this direct address shows that the author intends for the work to be read by daimyo lords and high-level warrior-officials in charge of domain administration, who could put these teachings into practice.²⁶⁷ Linking amorous affairs with the continuity of a state, the comment warns about the dangers of indulgence, reminding us that lust is also used as a

²⁶⁵ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:6 “Giō”).

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ Horitake Tadaaki, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō no henchosha ni tsuite: ‘hyō’ no bu ni okeru shisōteki haikai*,” in *Gunki monogatari no mado*, vol. 1, ed. Kansai gunki monogatari kenkyūkai (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1997), 476-477.

technique for scheming.²⁶⁸ Apparently a ruler has to know how to manipulate others by means of love affairs, and be aware that others may take advantage of his own weaknesses of this kind. Rather than being a moral issue, excessive amorousness is considered a weakness by which a ruler may be manipulated with negative political results. At the same time, it should be known and even used in one's own schemes. This practical approach is certainly one of the reasons why warrior rulers, and courtiers too, read classical Japanese literature with amorous content.

This theme reappears in a more general form in the following comment about using pleasant things as bait:

In general, all sentient beings between Heaven and Earth like that which pleases them. They like five things: food, lust, reward, fame, amusement. Being greedy for these five things all people lose their lives. The primary thing, however, is food. Birds flying in the sky, beasts running across land, all of them gather for bait. Even more so, beings with hearts/minds (*kokoro* 心) always follow a lure. Therefore, when the ones at the top follow their own desires at will, inevitably the intention of those below is to turn away. When the ones on top restrain themselves for the sake of all people, and provide that to which those below aspire, good people occupy within and without, and wise officials gather to the state. Is it not “understanding their aspirations and obtaining the masses”? Tai Gong says about this: “All sentient beings desire to obtain what they aspire to.”

凡天地の間有情の類。悉己が快の事を好。其好处のわざ五つ。曰。食也。姪也。禄也。名也。遊也。此五事を貪て。世人みな生命を失。然といへども其先ずる所の物は食也。天を飛翅。地をかける禽獣。悉其餌によつて聚。況心ある類其餌に随ずと云事なし。故に上好で慾を恣にする時は。下の志必背。上万民の為に己を戒。下の志を恵則。善人内外に満て。

²⁶⁸ In the same comment, the author states that Kiyomori's affair with *shirabyōshi* dancers set a bad example for high and low people at the imperial court. Excessive behavior of this kind was linked with the neglect of duties and downfall of states.

けんし 賢士国に あつまる 聚。是其志を さつし 察て。しゅ う 衆を得るにあらずや。こゝ 是をもつて太公曰。気を
ふくむ 含の類 たいぐことゝくねかひ 威願 其志を得と云事は是也 ²⁶⁹

Here, too, those on top are urged to restrain themselves and attract able people by providing pleasant things that they aspire to obtain.

Although the *Heike hyōban* is itself a didactic text with warning and admonitions, one of its themes is the centrality of the heart/mind (*kokoro*) and intention/ambition (*kokorozashi* 志), which stand above words, either written or spoken.

[...] When there is the Great Way, the state is long-lasting. So, where is this Great Way? If it could be obtained only by means of writings and volumes of texts, there would be many people knowing it in any time period, but although there are many people here and there who are well-read and erudite, they are as ignorant in the way of morality as uneducated ordinary people. If it [the Great Way] is in spoken expressions, who of those who hear would not know it? When one recites, they do not know, when one tells, they do not know about it. So, where is it? This is why an ancient sage said: “It is found only in people’s hearts from the beginning, but because they do not have intention to seek it, they cannot know.” Indeed, this teaching is clear! If people do not have intention, what can be accomplished? Therefore, people of the Latter Age, have firm intention, and seek the Great Way!

(...) 大道と云事有て。天下国家長久なる事有。されば此道いづれの処にかあら
ん。もんじ 文字書巻によつてのみ得者ならば。いづれの時と云とも是を知もの多かる
べし。然に爰にも物よみ。かしこにも くほうがく 廣学也と云人おほけれ共。りん 人倫の道に暗事
は。がく 無学の凡人に同じ。又言句に在と云ば。聞ほどの人孰か是をしらざるべき。
よめ 誦ども知らず語れども知らず。然ば是 いかん 何の処にあらんや。されば いく 古の聖人
のたまひ 宣けるは。たゞ 唯人々の心中に。もとよりそなは 元来備り有ものなれ共。是を たいづね 尋る ころざし 志なきが

²⁶⁹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 10 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:14 “The Burning of Nara”). Quotation from “Superior Strategy” section of the *Three Strategies*: “All living beings want to realize their ambitions.” 含気之類、威願得其志. See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 292.

故に。知事^{しる}あたはずと云^{のたまへ}り。実^{まこと}其教^{をしへ}明^{あきらか}なるかな。人々の志^{こゝろざし}なくしては
何事か成事あらんや。所以^{このゆへ}に末世の人々。志を厚して。是^{もとめ}を求^{もとめ}おはしませ²⁷⁰

In a sense, this position undermines the value of texts and lectures, including this commentary, proclaiming that studying its content by itself will not solve any problems. The commentary does not promise to turn its reader into a sage ruler, but still explains the “Great Way,” evaluating the faults of past rulers and suggesting proper actions. In this way, the commentator assumes the role of an advisor who guides, cautions, and elucidates cause-and-effect relationships; however, it is the audience, a lord or his retainers, who bears the entire responsibility for his own mind and intentions, as well as the consequences of his decisions. In addition, the attitude to words and texts seen in this passage may also be taken as a critical reaction to the practice of the secret transmission of texts: it is not necessary to read many texts in order to rectify one’s mind. This claim, fitting for a published commentary which privileges internal morality and wisdom rather than formal erudition and material texts, would certainly appeal to people involved in administration who were not expected to be scholars.

The examples considered above demonstrate that comments in the *Heike hyōban* are designed to recreate the setting of a lecture given by an advisor to a person in power. A typical pattern seen in many comments is the discussion of a *Heike* episode, followed by a generalized set of principles with some final direct advice or admonition to a ruler. The commentator takes a strict attitude towards his audience without, flattery or praise. The readers are repeatedly cautioned about mistakes and weaknesses that threaten the state’s or family’s prosperity. The commentary, however, positions itself as an admonition, reminding readers that their improvement of internal qualities and attitudes, rather than external texts and words, prevents

²⁷⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

trouble. The comments somewhat resemble a sermon in which the Buddhist elements are replaced by teachings about statecraft and ethics.

5.1.3 Borrowing the Authority of Classics and Military Studies Texts

Quoting a recognized authority is a common commentarial technique aimed at strengthening the argument and displaying the commentator's learning. The *Heike hyōban* commentary regularly quotes Chinese and Japanese histories, military texts, Buddhist sutras, and other texts with canonical status and didactic content perceived as the universal time-tested wisdom of past sages. This use of classic wisdom enhances the scholarly appearance of the commentary, allows its readers to become familiar with the classics in a digest form, and grounds the commentary in the established tradition as its natural continuation rather than a random personal opinion.

In the following example, several citations are used to support discussion of suspicion and its harm in state matters. First, the proverbial statement of an unnamed ancient person is quoted: "An ancient person said: 'A suspicious mind, an avaricious mind are the basis of great turmoil.'" ²⁷¹ Later in the same comment, the following two quotes from known respectable sources are woven into the discussion:

[...] When one only examines other people's faults without examining faults in one's own mind/heart, one's own faults will increase and result in a mistake. Great Teacher Enō ²⁷² said: "Other people's faults are other people's mistakes. One's own faults indeed become mistakes." ²⁷³ So, it appears that a gentleman seeing other people's faults, examines his

²⁷¹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 "The Rokuhara Boys").

²⁷² Huineng, J. Enō 慧能 (638-713 CE) – one of the most prominent monks in Chan (Zen) Buddhism, also known as the Sixth Patriarch.

²⁷³ Most likely a reference to the following passage from Chapter Two, "Prajñā (Lecture)" of *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*: "Always see one's own errors, and / Be in accord with the Way. (...) If one sees the errors of others, / One's own errors will rather be augmented. / If one considers others to be in error and not oneself, / One's

own faults. Article Ten of Prince Shōtoku's Constitution²⁷⁴ says: "Give up anger, abandon anger. Do not be angry at others who disagree. All people have a mind/heart, each heart takes [its own attitude]. When others are reasonable, oneself will be wrong. When oneself is reasonable, others will be wrong. Oneself is by no means a sage, and all the others are not fools. Everyone is certainly a common person. Who can distinguish and determine the principle of being right and wrong?" Therefore, in the Latter Age, those who intend to maintain the state, consider this matter in your mind! [...]

(...) 他人の非をのみ糺して。自心の非を糺ざる時は。吾非 彌 あやまちと成
べし。恵能大師 曰。他人の非は是他人のあやまち。自身の非。却て過とな
ると云り。所以に君子。他人の非を見ては。我非を改給ふと見えたり。聖徳
太子憲法之第十曰。怒を断。怒をすて。人の違を怒され。人みな心有。心
各とる事有。人道理有時はわが僻事成べし。我に道理有時は人に僻事有べし。
我必聖人にあらず。人なへて愚人にあらず。共に皆是凡夫たるべし。是非の理
はたれかよく是を分ち定んと云り。故に末代に至て。天下国家を持給はん人。
此一事に心をめぐらし給へ。 (...) ²⁷⁵

The first quote comes from the writings of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, a major figure in Chan Buddhism. The other one is from the *Seventeen-Article Constitution*, attributed to Prince Shōtoku. Both call on a person to notice his own shortcomings and not to reject the opinions of others through blindly assuming that one is right. The commentator specifies that these sayings, which can easily apply to people in general, are of particular importance to rulers who wish to maintain their states. The comment ends with two additional quotes from known classics:

[...] Therefore, *Sunzi's Art of War* also says: "In matters of state, there is nothing more important than intelligence." And *Saden (Zuo zhuan)* says: "when the rule is insincere, the people despise it. When the people despise, [the ruler reacts] recklessly by means of

errors will automatically embody a transgression." John McRae, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: Translated from the Chinese of Zongbao* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000), 35.

²⁷⁴ Also known as the *Seventeen-Article Constitution (Jūshichijō kenpō 十七条憲法)* of Prince Shōtoku (574-622 CE) from the year 604 in the Asuka period.

²⁷⁵ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 "The Rokuhara Boys").

severe laws. When the laws are severe, the people are certainly harmed.” Therefore, carefully perceive this!

(...) 所以に孫子も。天下の事間より大事なる事なしと云り。されば左伝曰。
政 不実なる時は民あなどる。民 嫚る時は。是みだりにけはしき法をもつてす。
其法けはしき時は。民必害せらるゝと云り。 故 謹 而是を了給へ²⁷⁶

In total, four texts and an anonymous source are cited in this long comment, showing the extent of the commentator’s reliance on other texts to support and justify his own advice and argumentation. A Chinese Buddhist text, an ancient Japanese text from the Asuka period, a Chinese military classic, and a Confucian historical text quoted here suggest an erudite author well-versed in a variety of both Chinese and Japanese classics, who compiled a didactic text which balances scholarship and practical application in administration.

One of the features of this commentary is the inclusion of quotes from obscure texts that are hard to identify, most of which are probably fabrications or compilations from texts such as Chinese military classics presented as secret texts by the commentator. As described in Chapter 2, however, the corpus of texts related to numerous schools of military studies is vast, diverse, and understudied, so it is possible that the texts quoted in this commentary are indeed based on actual manuscripts which are no longer extant or are still kept in unidentified archives. The following is a quote from such a text attributed to the Heian-period yin-yang master Kiichi Hōgen, known for possessing the Chinese military classic the *Six Secret Teachings*, which Minamoto no Yoshitsune studied according to a legend:

Transmission says: The book of *Kiichi’s Military Strategy* says: “By hearing an enemy’s state of affairs, one knows the good and bad sides of his army.” The secret transmission says: “Not pipe, not drum, also not voice. Know the [enemy’s] soundless colorless mind/heart!” This is truly a deep matter for consideration.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

てんに 伝曰。鬼一軍 略之 篇曰。敵の調子を聞て。軍の善悪を知秘伝には。管にあ
 らず。鼓に^こあらず。又音声^{をんせい}にあらず。音なく色なく心をしれと云り。誠にふかき
 おもんばかり 慮 有 ²⁷⁷

In many instances, a quote from a known source is used as a concisely summarized general principle that supports the commentator's assessment. The particular case under discussion, an episode from the *Heike*, thus becomes a specific convincing illustration that confirms the general principle. In the comment about the Heike's panic at the Fuji River, a point made in one of the *Seven Military Classics* is used to summarize the criticism of the Heike's lack of initiative and random acting without a clear plan:

Since the Heike generals did not know how to do battle and faced the enemy without a plan, they lost this battle. If there were a good general, he could foil Yoritomo's plan. [...] All the Heike generals wanted merely to follow the enemy and did not want to make the enemy follow them. Could one ever obtain advantage in battle [by acting like this]? "The *Military Strategy* says: 'One thousand essays, ten thousand sections [all say] compel others, do not be compelled by others.'"

平氏大将。師^{いくさ}の法をしらず。敵に向ひ 策^{はかりこと}なきが故に。此軍打負給へり。若良
 将たらば頼朝の^{より}謀^{はかりこと}を^{てんず}転べきもの也。 (...) 平氏の諸将敵にのみ随事^{ほつ}を欲して。
 敵をしたがふる事を欲せず。豈戦て利有事を得んや。兵法曰。千章^{しやう}万句^く人を致^{いた}
 して人に致されずといへり。 ²⁷⁸

Quoting other texts is a common and straightforward commentarial technique. The *Heike hyōban* commentator seeks support of his arguments and didactic points in an eclectic mix of recognized Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto works. Quotes related to military studies are drawn

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 10 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:11 "The Fuji River").

Quotation from Book 2 of *Questions and Replies Between Tang Taizong and Li Weigong*: "One thousand essays, ten thousand sections do not go beyond 'compel others, do not be compelled by them.'" 千章万句、不出乎致人而不致于人而已。See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 337.

The original quotation is from Book 6 of *Sunzi's Art of War*: "...one who excels at warfare compels men and is not compelled by other men." 善戦者、致人而不致於人。Ibid., 166.

from East Asian classics and also from unknown, spurious texts that are made to appear as secret manuscripts from the pre-Edo period.

5.1.4 Modifying a Character's Image

The original text, the *Heike*, does not claim to be an objective historical description; the tragic fate of the Heike clan, depicted as courtly and refined, tells about human delusions, while the framework of the rise and fall illustrates the Buddhist principle of impermanence shapes the narrative and gives it a tone of lamentation. The *Heike hyōban* commentary, on the contrary, is inspired more by indignation and admonition than by nostalgic regret and pity. Accordingly, many of the characters whose tragic fates evoke sympathy in the *Heike* are vehemently criticized in the *Heike hyōban* for their ignorance, greed, lack of foresight, carelessness, and incompetence, which are all unpardonable for qualities for rulers, officials, and warriors. This different attitude toward characters, and the aim of the commentary to counsel acting or potential rulers, results in substantially modified characterizations. In many cases, human qualities only indirectly suggested in the original text are straightforwardly and bluntly emphasized with positive or negative aspects critically interpreted from the viewpoint of ethics and statecraft. In some cases, a character's image is drastically reshaped by the addition of new traits or capacities not mentioned in the original text.

A simple yet telling example is the image of imperial rulers. Despite the almost pro-imperial stance of the commentary,²⁷⁹ with praise for sage emperors of the ancient past presented

²⁷⁹ The presence of the *Heike hyōban* text in the archive of the Ise shrine (Jingū Bunko, microfilm #34-402-2), and in the Yōmei Bunko archive (microfilm #55-162-1) is hardly a coincidence: it suggests that Shinto and court-related institutions in the Edo period had interest in its content, such as the revival of Shinto, relations between the court and warriors, and the principles of government. Microfilm numbers are given according to the online Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, National Institute of Japanese Literature.

as models for emulation, the commentator does not hesitate to point out mistakes and misgovernment by anyone regardless of rank or status, including those of emperors or famous generals like Yoritomo, who were venerated by shogunal governments since medieval times. The following passage is part of the discussion of Taira no Kiyomori's rise to the post of grand minister:

[...] Kiyomori, however, became the Grand Minister due to the Emperor's lack of virtue. Even though the Emperor lacked virtue and granted this post by occasional flattery, [in case] when Kiyomori had virtue, it is also not the way by which he should have risen to an important post. Thus, if the meaning of establishing offices and ranks in the state is not known, people only think of [office and rank] as fame and greed of one lifetime. Because of this, although people of high office and rank appear in the world, they only spend lifetime in pleasure and eventually this does not benefit the state. Isn't this known clearly by generations of people? [...]

(...) 然に清盛大政大臣となりぬる事。是れ帝王の御不徳故成べし。たとひ帝
不徳にまし / \ て。時の媚によつて此官を御許れ有と云とも。清盛徳有時は。
又大官にのぼるべき道にあらず。されば天下に官位を定る心。いかなる故ぞと
云事をしらざれば。人々一世の名聞利欲の誉とのみおもへり。故に世に高官高
位の人出来ぬれども。其人一世の快樂のみにして。終に天下の為とはならず。
是代々あきらかに人の知処にあらずや。 (...) ²⁸⁰

Instead of making Kiyomori the main object of criticism, the commentator blames the person who undeservedly appointed Kiyomori to the post, that is, the emperor who made a mistake, not knowing whom to appoint for the benefit of the state. In contrast to the *Heike* view of imperial figures as suffering from the excesses of arrogant warrior leaders, the commentary openly points out the wrong decisions of emperors that weakened imperial rule and allowed warrior clans to gain excessive power.

A similar assessment is seen in the following passage:

²⁸⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:5 “One Man’s Glory”).

Evaluation says: Since deputy Morotsune is from the start a very evil and immoral man, this matter does not merit a comment. However, appointing such an immoral man as a deputy is certainly a mistake of that period's emperor or regent. [...]

評曰^{もく}目代師経が事は。元来^{もとより}大悪不道の者なれば。評するにたらず。しかるにかゝるぶたうなるものを。目代としてつかはされける事。時のみかど。或は^{せつしやう}摂政の御ひがことたるべし。 (...) ²⁸¹

In this instance, the *Heike hyōban* emphasizes the ruler's responsibility for appointing an immoral man as a deputy—it is the ruler's choice of the wrong person that leads to the trouble this deputy causes. This idea is further developed as follows:

Evaluation says: [...] At this time there was no such ceremony and custom, and the Fujiwara court nobles also did not attend. Everything ended up like this because of the lord's lack of virtue. When one seeks the origin of this, it has come from the errors of the First Retired Emperor [Go-Shirakawa]. The present situation developed like this due to him acting only according to his own mood, giving excessive rewards and fiefs to the Heike, and being deprived of the power over the state. [...]

評曰。 (...) 此時に^{あたつ}当て。此^{さいれい}祭例もなく。藤氏の公卿も参られざる事は。是皆^{かみ}上の不徳故に。かくは^{はて}成果ぬるもの也。其^{みなもと}源を^{たづね}尋るに。是一院の御^{あやまり}謬より出たり。機嫌^{きげん}にのみ^{まかせ}任給ひ。平氏に^じ過分の^{くは}賞禄を^{しやうろく}与^{あたへ}。天下の^{けんい}權威を^{うはは}奪れさせ給ふによつて。今かくのごとくに^{ゆく}成行もの也。 (...) ²⁸²

The commentary approaches statecraft abstractly as a set of correct, timeless attitudes and decisions in matters such as appointments of officials; the same mistake may therefore be carried out by an emperor, a general, an abbot, or anybody administering some state functions. This universality of efficient and inefficient policies makes it possible to learn from anybody's mistakes. In other words, a wrong decision by the twelfth-century emperor is discussed as a warning and a matter of practical concern for a seventeenth-century daimyo lord. This didactic

²⁸¹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:13 “The Fight over Ugawa”).

²⁸² *Heike hyōban*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

approach serves the purpose of raising awareness about common potential risks, illustrating them with specific cases.

In the following example, the Genji leader Yoritomo, usually praised as a wise strategist in the *Heike hyōban*, is criticized for refusing to meet his brother Yoshitsune and for believing another retainer's slander without due consideration:

The matter of Yoritomo not meeting with Yoshitsune this time: it is lacking benevolence. Indeed, even if Yoshitsune has been arrogant, he is still young. It is reasonable that he made such a mistake, taking advantage of his authority. For an older brother, to love one's younger brother is the usual way, but accepting Kajiwara's slander is wrong. This Kajiwara often had discord with Yoshitsune. Yoritomo also knew about this before and thus he should have had some comprehension. Even if Yoshitsune had a treacherous heart, injustice should not be able to prevail over justice. It appears that, since Yoritomo kept his mind only on overthrowing people, he was drawn to the idea of loyalty and treason and forgot about the [way] of being cautious about the conclusion [of an affair]. In general, for a person who obtains [control of] the state, during the time when he still has not obtained it, it is clear that he treats others with care about everything, but when he has already obtained [control of the state], fearing that others will take away [control of] the state, he rules suspecting others. It seems that because of this, self-interest arises, and his rule and manners [lead him] instead to lose the state. When thinking that others will seize the state, one [should], more and more, avoid self-interest, make all the people content, and when the state is ruled as a [proper] state, who will dislike this rule? It seems that since ancient times all generals who ruled the world were perplexed about this. In this case, the fact that he did not meet with Yoshitsune is also one of the first signs that this evil thought arose. Further details are recorded in transmitted records about the signs of state disorder.

よりとも 頼朝。義経に此たひ對面なき事。是不仁也。尤義経 驕 給ふ事共有と云ども。未
じやく 若 年たり。其威に乗じては。かゝる失有事理也。兄としては 弟 を愛する事。
是道の常也。然に梶原が讒言を用給ふ事非也。此かぢはらは。義経と漸々
(度々?) 不和の事有。是は兼て頼朝も知 召 処也。然ば一分の心得おはすべき
事也。縦。義経 逆 心有と云とも。不義。正義に勝事 能 べからず。是頼朝人を
ほろぼす 滅 の事をのみ心とし給ふによつて。順 逆 の心にひかれ給ひて。終 をつゝし

む道を^{わすれ}忘給ふと見えたり。凡天下を^う得る人。いまだ得ざる時は。万事に^{つゝしみ}慎有て。人を用る事^{あきらか}明なれども。すでに得る時は。若^{もし}此天下を人にうばゝれん事を^{おそれ}恐て。人を^{うたが}疑て^{まつりごと}政を用る故に私欲^{しよくしやう}生じて。政礼却て天下を^せ失^{うしなふ}と見えたり。若^{もし}人の世をうばふべき事を思ふ時は。彌^{いよ}私^{わたくし}を避^{さけ}て。万民^{みん}を安^{やすん}じ。天下の天下となす時。誰か世をうとむべけんや。是^{いにしへ}古より天下を知処の大將。皆此^{まどひ}惑有と見えたり。今義経にあひ給はざる事も。一の悪念の生じぬる始なるべし^{くはしく}委^{らんさう}は天下乱相の傳記^{でん}にしるせり²⁸³

Despite the common view—which is emphasized in the *Heike*, and according to which the Heike are losers and the Genji winners—in the Edo period, the Genji were often seen as temporary winners who managed to maintain their rule for no longer than three generations before losing their power to the Hōjō family.²⁸⁴ Thus, even Yoritomo, an alleged ancestor and model for Tokugawa Ieyasu, was not seen as ideal in all respects and his occasional faults were criticized in works like the *Heike hyōban*. In this example, Yoritomo’s distrust of his brother is considered a mistake caused by an excessive concern with potential treason and the suspicion that Yoshitsune might plot against him. In addition to noticing early traces of Yoritomo’s negative qualities that interfere with successful rule, such as private interest and excessive suspicion of his own retainers and family members, the comment then develops into general advice on the proper attitude to help a ruler maintain control over the state. Yoritomo’s attitude is described as a common failing of all generals who have ruled since ancient times, and this point is linked with their eventual loss of power. The admonition is clear: if a great general like Yoritomo did not avoid the mistake, then the danger for a common daimyo lord to commit it is

²⁸³ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 22 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 11:17 “Koshigoe”).

²⁸⁴ This view was certainly influenced by historical works such as the *Mirror of the East* (*Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡), which covers the period from 1180 to 1266, and emphasizes the role of regents of the Hōjō family.

much greater. Thus, readers are encouraged to keep this cautionary example in mind in order not to repeat the same mistake and to be more careful in such matters than Yoritomo.

In the following example, the image of a Buddhist priest and his evaluation are the opposite of those given in the *Heike*, plainly showing the contrast in viewpoint between the two texts. The *Heike*, from a typically courtly and Buddhist position, deplores the destruction of Nara temples by the Heike in 1181, and sympathizes with the abbot Yōen 永円, a minor character, who is shocked by this sight:

[After the burning of Nara] most temple monks had perished by arrow or sword, had failed to emerge from the smoke or been lost to the flames. The few left fled to mountains and forests; not one remained. For the Kōfukuji abbot, Yōen, the sight of images and scriptures burning proved too great a shock. Heart pounding in horror, he collapsed and soon died. Surpassing elegance and delicacy of feeling had been typical of him. Once when he heard a cuckoo call: Whenever you call, / cuckoo, a wondrous pleasure / thrill me yet again, / as though each and every note / were your first song of the year. This poem gained him a new name: “Reverend First Song,” they called him. [...]²⁸⁵

The *Heike hyōban* also assesses the burning of Nara as an evil deed, but also blames the abbot for his lack of foresight and careless ignorance of the signs of disorder. Overall, according to the commentator, one of the worst faults for a ruler, general, or abbot is to be caught unawares and to be surprised by a sudden disaster. Knowledge of the situation, correct assessment of early signs of trouble, and wise timely prophylactic measures are emphasized throughout the commentary. This abbot’s attitude, as well as his poetic skill, is harshly criticized as being contrary to the true understanding of Buddhist teachings:

Evaluation says: This should be praised as admirable, but this priest is not a truly perspicacious monk. Why is it so? On this occasion, even if Buddhist statues and

²⁸⁵ *The Tale of the Heike*, 307-308. A priest, Eien 永円 (980-1044), whose name is given in the *Heike*, is a different mid-Heian person. The Kōfukuji abbot and poet Yōen 永縁 (1048-1125) also died before 1181. He had the nickname “Reverend First Song” (*hatsune no sōjō* 初音僧正) because of the poem: *kiku tabi ni / mezurashikereba / hototogisu / itsumo hatsune no / kokochi koso sure* 聞くたびにめづらしければ郭公いつも初音の心地こそすれ.

scriptures would not become smoke, it is clear at this time that the Buddhist Way has collapsed and the Imperial Way has declined in the empire. Why is he shocked only now? A true Buddhist perceives the Three Worlds. This bishop does not perceive even order and turmoil in one lifetime. Next, for many years, monks at Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji temples were engaged in evil and outrageous deeds, they have been no different from laypeople. A Buddhist's heart should have grieved about this situation in the first place. This is certainly because this bishop is a priest who thinks that Buddhist temples, statues, and scriptures constitute the Buddhist Way. He does not know about the principle of “no phenomena outside of one's mind.” Perhaps for this reason he did not leave a name related to Buddha's original intention, but taking delight in futile beauties of nature, he concentrated his mind on the voice of a cuckoo, always put together famous poems, and was called “Bishop First Song.” How can this be called Buddha's original intention? Moreover, Buddha's mind is said in the scripture to be “Not impure, not pure, not increasing, not decreasing; no thought, no practice, no gain, no loss.”²⁸⁶ Original mind has clear virtue, thus one knows what should be sad and what should be joyful, but why would one cause pain to mind and body? Thus, it should be known that this is not a priest who has fully renounced the world.

評曰。殊勝と謂べし。されども此僧。真正活眼の沙門にあらず。如何となれば。今たとひ仏像經卷けふりとならざればとて。此時仏道破滅し。王法衰疲しぬる事。天下に明也。何ぞ今更に心を動さんや。それ眞の仏氏は。三世を悟る。今此僧正。一生の治乱をさへさとらず。次に年来。東大寺興福寺の沙門の有様。悪逆無道にして。在家の俗人に等き事。是こそ先。仏氏としてはむねを苦しむべき事なれ。此僧正は。伽藍仏像經卷を仏法とおもふ僧なるが故成べし。心外無別法と云事をしらず。さればにや僧正。世尊の本意によつて。其名をば残さず。無益の風月のたはふれによつて。郭公の声に心をかたふけ。いつもはつねの名歌をつらね。初音の僧正とよばれ給ふ事。何ぞ世尊の本意とは申べきや。其上仏の心は。經曰。不垢不淨不増不減無念無修。無得無失と云り。本心明徳有故に。か

²⁸⁶ The first half is quoting the *Heart Sutra* (J. *Hannya shingyō* 般若心經). The second half is a quote from a Zen Buddhist work, the *Record of Linji* (Ch. *Linjilu*, J. *Rinzairoku* 臨濟録, ca. ninth century CE, printed in 1120). Its correct version is: “There is nothing to practice, nothing to realize, nothing to gain, nothing to lose” (J. *mushu mushō mutoku mushitsu* 無修無証無得無失). See *The Record of Linji*, trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009), 12-13.

なしむべきを知。喜べきを知共何ぞ心身を^{くるしむ}苦事あらんや。故に出^{しゅつ}離^り得^{だつ}脱^{だつ}の僧
にあらざる事を知べし²⁸⁷

Although the commentator's position, as seen from other passages, consists of proposing a revival and a harmonious unity of both Buddhism and Shinto, the Buddhist clergy of the Genpei period are regularly blamed for a lifestyle incompatible with Buddhism, along with their greed and their fostering of trouble in the state.²⁸⁸ Moreover, for people of the early Edo period, the events of the sixteenth century, such as the burning of Mount Hiei temples in 1571 by Oda Nobunaga, were recent events and it would be easy to draw parallels between the Genpei period and the sixteenth century. In any case, the Genpei events discussed in the commentary likely seemed relevant for the late medieval or Edo context.

The above example may be viewed as a very insensitive and sarcastic comment. The purpose, however, is not to describe disorder and suffering, but to suggest that preventive measures need to be taken before it is too late. The *Heike* focuses on descriptions of chaos

²⁸⁷ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

²⁸⁸ The *Heike monogatari shō* commentary criticizes the monks of Mount Hiei in the following way:
Transmission says: At times the Northern Peak [Mount Hiei temples] raised complaints, brought sacred palanquins to the imperial palace, or burned down places here and there becoming a trouble for society. These actions are not protection of the state. This is due to the policy being utterly wrong from the past. Since [the emperor] gave them excessive temple territories, they lived in luxury, did not give priority to precepts, practiced with weapons, had many quarters for priests and were numerous, then even warriors folded their arms into long sleeves and secretly thought about relying on Mount Hiei in case if something would happen. Monks did the opposite of begging, and turned against the Buddhist teaching. Thus, people in the world were saying: “How terrible is the Latter Age!” Buddhist teachings tell that the period of True Law is a thousand years, the period of Imitative Law is a thousand years, the Latter Age of the Law lasts ten thousand years. It seems that [the world] reached this [final] period, it is said.
伝云やゝもすれば北嶺事をうつたへ或は神輿を内裏へふりたて又は爰かしこを焼失し世のさはぎとなる事国家護持にあらず是とてもいにしへのまづりことたゞしきにあらざるゆへなり過分の寺領をあたへをき玉ふゆへををりをきはめ教戒をば次にして武具をたしなみ僧房おほふして人数あまたあれば武士とても長袖に手をつかね自然の事もあらば山門を頼まんと下心に思ふゆへなり出家は乞食と反やくせり釈氏のをしへにそむけり末代おそろしと世以いひあへり正法千年像法千年末法万年の仏説時いたりぬとみえたりとぞ

Heike monogatari shō, in *Heike monogatari shūge*, *Heike monogatari shō* (Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1978), 61.

without overt didactic messages or analysis of the causes and past actions that have led to the tragic outcome. The commentary seeks to fill this gap and develop the habit of looking into causes that often stem from misjudgements, mistakes, and the neglect of the duties of those who have power and make decisions. It is not only a general or a magistrate, but also an abbot, who is expected to perceive early signs of trouble in order to take measures against approaching crisis.

The negative example of this abbot simultaneously conveys several didactic messages or themes that are regularly taken up in the commentary. The imbalance of the “civil” (*bun*) and the “martial” (*bu*) components of administration are expressed, in this case, as excessive interest in poetry and the neglect of an abbot’s duties, such as the supervision of monks and the fulfillment of Buddhist precepts. Also, the abbot is accused of being a nominal Buddhist who behaves like a layperson and ignores true Buddhism. In addition, unlike the fatalistic view of events in the *Heike*, the commentary stresses human actions and responsibilities: the abbot is made partly responsible for the tragedy of the burning of Nara, which he was unable to anticipate and prevent. This criticism is linked to the expectation that an able leader should not find himself helpless and surprised, and the abbot’s shock demonstrates to the commentator that he had been unaware of the crisis in Buddhist institutions and the decline of the imperial court’s power in the state. Thus, instead of gaining sympathy as a victim, the abbot is harshly criticized both as an administrator and a Buddhist.

One example of attributing additional qualities to characters of the *Heike* is the following statement asserting that priest Mongaku was one of the military advisors serving Yoritomo:

Transmission says: Since the time when Prince Takakura sent his edict to Yoritomo, among his military advisors were: Mongaku of Takao and Sumiyoshi Kodayū

Masanaga²⁸⁹—they devised stratagems of all the battles. The planning council consisted only of Hōjō Shirō Tokimasa²⁹⁰ and Tōkurō Morinaga.²⁹¹ It is said they were wise and prudent in judgment. Then, Doi Jirō Sanehira²⁹² was in charge of all the military supplies, they say.

伝曰。高倉宮。領旨を頼朝に下し給ひてより以来。軍師には高尾の文覚。住吉小太夫昌長。萬合戦の計略を伝申。評議計謀は。北條四郎時政。藤九郎盛長ばかりぞ智覚すると云り。其後土肥次郎実平が。万事軍用を承と云り²⁹³

In the original story, Mongaku is an eccentric monk who interacts with Yoritomo, but no mention is made about his advice on military matters or campaigns. The commentary adds a “transmission,” a legend or a rumour that turns Mongaku into a military advisor (*gunshi*) in the style of sixteenth-century specialists who were typically monks in the service of generals. This unfounded and most likely anachronistic detail is a clear case of a late medieval and early modern reinterpretation of the Genpei past.²⁹⁴ Evidently, for daimyo lords it would be a familiar

²⁸⁹ A Shinto priest and yin-yang master who is known as the military advisor of Minamoto no Yoritomo. He also conducted divination ceremonies for Yoritomo.

²⁹⁰ Hōjō Tokimasa (1138-1215). Residing in Izu, he took care of Yoritomo, who was exiled there. Since 1180, he sided with Yoritomo’s revolt. Tokimasa’s daughter, Masako, was Yoritomo’s wife. In 1185, Tokimasa became the governor of Kyoto, and after Yoritomo’s death he became the *shikken* (shogun’s regent) and the de facto ruler, together with Masako.

²⁹¹ Adachi (Tōkurō) Morinaga (1135-1200). He was a warrior and the retainer of Kamakura bakufu.

²⁹² Doi Sanehira (?-1191?). Since 1180, he sided with Yoritomo and fought against the Taira. Later, he received five provinces and was appointed Governor of the Kinai region.

²⁹³ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 9 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:4 “The Courier”).

²⁹⁴ The author of the *Heike karui* criticizes the suggestion that Mongaku was Yoritomo’s military advisor: It seems to me that if Yoritomo considered venerable Mongaku of Takao a military advisor, Yoritomo’s strategy would be extremely shallow and narrow. This priest was exiled, secretly went to the capital, asked and obtained Retired Emperor’s edict, and brought it to Yoritomo. Judging from this, he was brave and tough by nature, and his attitude was to slight the world. However, he was a lay priest, not a true priest. In the *Azuma kagami*, not a single advice of Mongaku appears during military discussions and councils. Thus, this is false. As for Masanaga, he does appear in various places in the *Azuma kagami*. There are many cases when he saw movement of Venus and Saturn and offered divination reports. Thus, was he a person in charge of astrology in that period? Calling him a military advisor is doubtful, too. The *Azuma kagami* record of the fourth year of Bunji era (1188) states: “Since Ōba no Heida Kageyoshi knew old military strategy of warrior houses and past practices, he was summoned and discussed the matter of campaign

and natural situation that a general like Yoritomo had a military advisor similar to those serving Oda Nobunaga, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and other warrior rulers. Moreover, commentaries like the *Heike hyōban* were produced by educated warriors seeking the position of a military studies mentor, historian, and personal advisor serving a local lord.

The examples discussed above show how the commentary modifies images of characters and presents them in a fresh and sometimes surprising perspective. New interpretations and new layers of qualities highlight the difference in worldview between the original *Heike* and the commentary. The didactic concern of the *Heike hyōban* affects its approach to the people depicted in the *Heike*: the commentator meticulously examines the responsibilities and personal qualities of people with power, boldly criticizes emperors and generals for unwise decisions, and sternly notes any signs of incompetence or lack of foresight that are treated more leniently in the *Heike*. In some cases, even minor faults are censured as early symptoms of largescale trouble. In

against the Ōshū region,” etc. It is strange that, apart from this, nothing else appears about Yoritomo’s advisors.

タカラノモンガクシヤウニン グンシ ヨリトモ ヨリトモ ハナハダセンロウ ソウル
 按に高雄文覚上人を軍師とせらるゝ頼朝ならば頼朝の兵法甚浅陋なるものなり此僧流
 ケイ カハツ ヒソカ インゼン コ ウケ ヨリトモ サヅ シヤウシツガウキヤウ カロ
 刑に罹つて潜に上り院宣を乞ひ請て頼朝に授けし処をみるに生質豪強にして世を軽く
 キジャウ ゾクホウシ シン シヤモン ハウ アヅマカバミ グン ダンカウヒヤウデウ
 おもふ気情有り然とも俗法師にて真の沙門の法にあらず東鑑に軍の談合評定のとき
 モンガク ショゴン イツハリ マサナガ アヅマカバミ タイハクテンセイ スイホ
 文覚一つの助言みえず然れば是偽也昌長が事東鑑処／＼に有り大白鎮星の推歩をみて
 カンモン サハゲ ソノヨ テンモン ツカサド モノ グンシ ウタガ アヅマカバミ
 勘文を捧し事多し然らば此人も其代の天文を司りし者歟是も軍師と云は疑はし東鑑
 ブンヂ キ ヲハバノヘイ ダカケヨシハタル ブケ コラウノヒヤウハウソンジ コジツヲ ノアヒダユヘテサレ
 文治四年の記に云大庭平太景能者为(三)武家古老兵法存(二)故実(一)之間故以被
 メシダ コレヲサル ラハセアハ ヲウシウセイハツ ノコトヲ コノホカ シハン
 (二)召出(一)レ之被レ仰合(二)奥州征伐之事(一)と云々と有り此外頼朝の師範と云ふ
 フシン
 事見えず不審

Heike monogatari hyōban karui, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:4 “The Courier”).

The author of the *Heike karui* relies on the *Azuma kagami* to verify legends and rumours found in the *Heike hyōban*. He wonders, however, why the *Azuma kagami* barely mentions Yoritomo’s advisors. Also, he has doubts about the relation of astrology and military studies, but distinguishes them as separate fields. As already discussed in earlier chapters, pre-Edo military advisors could be divination masters, too. Thus, the *Heike hyōban*’s rumour is plausible, and may be based on unidentified medieval sources.

the following section, I consider the evaluation scale used by the commentator that justifies this strictness in evaluations.

5.1.5 Contrasting Ancient Ideals with Common Faults

Any didactic text needs to be based on a set of concepts and principles that determine its message. To argue for and against, to evaluate a person or an event, there has to be a scale of values. The *Heike hyōban* commentary, adopting the traditional Confucian “history as mirror” approach together with the Buddhist theory of the Latter Age of decline, sees the ancient age of the sages as the ideal political and moral model that rulers are counselled to imitate or at least to keep in mind as the goal to be approached. In contrast, the present, both the Genpei era (late Heian or twelfth century), or an unspecified later age hinting at the medieval and early modern periods, is seen as the time of decadence, greed, false appearances, and selfishness that threaten people, institutions, and the state. Even though the difference is expressed in chronological terms—the past vs. the present—there is an equally important gap between the political and ethical ideals of the age of the sages, and its opposite in periods of turmoil such as the Genpei conflict. In other words, the difference is between “how it should be” and “how it is now (or may end up being),” which is the contrast discussed in advice texts concerned with social criticism, ethical education, and statecraft.

In the *Heike hyōban*, this contrast is used very often to explain the failures and troubles of the Genpei era and to suggest proper policies and decisions that are based on the time-tested experience of the sage rulers of the past. The possibility of attaining sage rule is open in any time period, and success depends only on the attitude and intention of a given ruler. This point is succinctly stated in the following passage:

[...] In some cases, when a ruler naturally feels compassion for the state and thinks how to make it tranquil for everyone, it means in his mind there is much [ability to distinguish between] good and evil. Thus, since the lord is glad when he sees a good person, subordinates also follow the attitude of the superior, and people strive to be good themselves, or seeing someone better than themselves, they want to bring him close to the lord. Thus, people in the world naturally do good, and good people naturally gather near the lord. If at this time good people seek this gathering of good ones, in any time period, one cannot say that there are no people resembling sages. Thus, an ancient person also said: “When there is a horse expert in the world, a fine horse appears. Although there is always a fine horse, there is not always a horse expert.” Therefore, the Way of appointing people is first of all in the will of the lord. Do not seek it elsewhere! [...]

(...) ^{あるひは}或 ^じ又君自然と天下を ^{あはれみ}憐。い ^{やすか}かんとしてか諸人を安らしめんと思召時は。其君の心に善悪 ^{おほき}多 ^{かるがゆへに}故也。故 善人を見ては君 ^{よろこび}悦 給ふが故に。下又上の ^{しも} ^{かみ}機嫌に ^{きげん}順。人々 ^{したがり}己が善を ^{をのれ}求。或 ^{もとめ}己にまされる善人を見ては。其君にちかづ ^{をのれ}けん事をほつす。故に世上 ^{をのづから}自 善事を成し。善人 ^な自 君の左右にむらがる。此 ^{をのづから}時に其 ^{むらがり}群 有所の善人をもつて。尋 ^{たづねもとむる}求 善人ならば。何 ^{いつれ}の時代と云とも。聖賢 ^{せいけん}に ^に似たる人なしと云事有べからず。されば古人も云る事有。世に ^{はくらく}伯楽有て。名馬 ^{めいば}あらはる。名馬は ^{つね}常にあれ共。伯楽は ^{はく}常にあらずと云り。故 人を ^{かるがゆへに}舉る道は。先其君の ^{こゝろざし}志 ^{さら}に在。更に外より ^{もとむ}求る事なかれ。(...) ²⁹⁵

The following example is a discussion of Kiyomori's use of youths who, according to the *Heike*, roamed around the capital to overhear people who spoke ill about the Heike and then broke into their homes, seizing goods and arresting them. This practice is criticized in both the original text and the commentary, but the latter goes beyond simple condemnation and examines the use of inspectors or “observers” in a state that can be either beneficial or harmful.

[...] In general, usage of people called “observers” in a state arises from the suspicious mind. Usage of observers in the ancient virtuous world was to call them “officers of ears and eyes”²⁹⁶ and disperse them in all directions to inquire about governance of the world. When there was criticism in the world, [the ruler] inspected it and investigated the

²⁹⁵ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

²⁹⁶ *Jiboku no shi* 耳目の士.

wrongs in the state. When people had troubles, [the ruler] quickly provided relief. Sending them to inquire especially about the wrongs of provincial lords, [the ruler] wanted to have [observers] investigate [their] faults.²⁹⁷ In the second place, [observers were used] to examine wrong and correct [qualities] of magistrates of various provinces. If magistrates were immersed in bribes and troubled people, [the ruler] quickly inspected that fault. He only used [observers] out of compassion and care for the people of the state. Thus, the world prospered, and the high and the low wished for perpetuity of the state. Kiyomori's use of observers, however, was, first of all, not to let the world talk about his mistakes. Even if it were not stated with words, how would everybody not know it in their minds? Kiyomori's thinking to stop people's talking in the state is like wishing to block an ocean with one's hands. Second, his idea was to inquire about the faults of the [ruled] people in order to harm them. There are good and bad kinds of inquiring about faults of the [ruled] people. The good kind is when one inquires about self-interest and faults of magistrates, deputy governors and others, investigates them and gives compassion and relief to the [ruled] people. However, Kiyomori's idea was to inquire about the people's gains in order to obtain his own gain. When [his] own gain was stolen by the people, they were greatly punished, but when he stole other people's gain there were no investigations. Thus, using observers, on the contrary, became a disaster for the state. The intention of observers of the High Antiquity was to inquire and find out day and night for the sake of society. The intention of Kiyomori's observers was to inquire and find out for Kiyomori's individual avarice and for the observer's mirth. So, the people also tried to hide them [gains]. Since the rulers had the intention to steal gains, the [ruled] people also tried to hide them. For this reason, people's minds became false and crooked, and there were many thieves in society. All of this should be the sign to consider the mind of the rulers as [affecting] the mind of the ruled. Therefore, Sages of the High Antiquity considered the state's "eyes" as one's own, considered the state's "ears" as one's own, and constantly wished to examine themselves. Foolish generals wish to examine the [ruled] people without examining themselves. [...]

(...) 惣じて天下国家に横目の者と云を用る事。是疑の心より発る事也。古徳
有世の横目を用たる事は。耳目の士と名付て。方々に分散せしめ。世の政を
聞しめ。世上に誹事あれば是を改めて。天下の僻事を糾す。民の苦事あれば。
はやく是を安からしむ。只偏に国王の御身の僻事をのみ聞出さしめて。身の非
を糾しめんと欲し給へり。次には諸国の奉行人の邪正を糾さんが為也。民を苦
め奉行人賄にふけらば。早く其罪を改め。偏に天下の人民を憐思召心より。

²⁹⁷ Or, "the ruler wanted to have observers investigate his own faults."

此事を用給へり。故に世上も豊ゆたかにして。上下天下の長久を願ねがふ。然に清盛横目よこを
 用たる事は。第一には身の僻事有ひがを。世に云すまじきが為也。喩いは詞たとひことばに云ずとい
 ふとも。争いかい諸人心に是を知らざるべけんや。天下の人の口を。清盛とゞめんと
 おもふ事は。大海かいを手にてせかんと欲するがごとし。第二には。下の曲だいいを聞出
 して。下を害せんとおもへり。下のまがりしもを聞と云に。善惡しなの品有。奉行代官くはん
 等の私曲とうを聞出して是を糺しきよくし。下を憐たゞ安あはれみやすんずる時は。善なれども清盛の心は。
 下の利有事を聞出しては。吾利を得んが為に聞しむ。吾利。下にかすむるものあ
 れば。大きに罪つみを行ふと云ども。吾下の利を掠われしも事あれども更かさむるに是を糺さらず。故
 に横目よこの者を用るほど。却て天下の禍わざはひとなれり。上古の横目よこの心は。明暮世の
 為を聞出見出さんと欲す。清盛の横目よこの心は。清盛一人の利欲なるべき事と。又
 一人の快こころよからしめん事を聞出し見出さんと欲す。故に下又是をかくさんとす。
 上に利を盗ぬすむ心有が故に。又下も是をかくさんとす。所以このゆへに人の心。偽いつはり曲まがつて。
 世上に盗人ぬす多し。是皆おほ。上の心をもつて下の心とするしるし成べし。故に上古の
 聖人せいは。天下の目をもつて我目となし。天下の耳をもつて我耳となし。鎮とこしなへに
 我身たゞを糺さんとほつす。愚将ぐは我身たゞを糺さずして。下を糺たゞさんとす。 (...) ²⁹⁸

The correct employment of inspectors in the distant past is contrasted with Kiyomori's corrupt approach. The difference lies in the intention: the rectification of faults and care for the people preserves the state, while private interest and refusal to face justified criticism about one's own faults leads to disastrous consequences. Although the didactic message is expressed in ethical, moralizing terms, much of it claims to be pragmatic and applicable in practice. It is important to note that the ideal "age of the sages" is not depicted as a utopia in which everything is in order by itself, regardless of decisions and policies of rulers. Mistakes and troubles, such as corrupt magistrates, arose in the past; however, continuous preoccupation with state affairs, and proper attitude and administration of the ruler made it possible to take appropriate measures to fix the

²⁹⁸ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 "The Rokuhara Boys").

situation. This is an ingenious rhetorical and didactic technique that motivates and gives hope to a current or potential ruler that he, too, can solve or prevent problems and maintain the state if he follows the policies and attitudes of the “Great Way,” suggested in the commentary. On the one hand, the ruler is called on to emulate sage rulers and gain the reputation of a good ruler by means of virtuous and wise decisions, and on the other hand, it is a way to put pressure on the ruler because if one does not strive to resemble the “sages” of antiquity, then one will not only have to deal with a disastrous situation, but will also be mocked as a “foolish general.”

The next example illustrates a similar approach, contrasting the past with the Latter Age, this time in the context of appointments:

[...] In the past, people placed in high office and rank simply had knowledge, virtue, and the ability to advise the ruler, and they assisted the emperor of that time. Having knowledge and virtue, they admonished the ruler, transmitted the Heavenly Way, and due to their merits the world and the four seas, all the way to fish of the Yangtze and Yellow rivers, could obtain tranquility. Thus, in such a reign, since there were people with knowledge and virtue who rose to high offices, both high and low felt gladness, and when such people died both high and low felt sadness. In the Latter Age, however, people in high office appear, but those below do not rejoice; people of high rank die, but all the people do not grieve. When that person of high post and rank is still alive, they think, “Alas! Would this person be quickly replaced!” but they are not glad about it at all. This is because one does not know the meaning of establishing posts and ranks, and considers these to equate with fame and gain during one’s lifetime. In addition, when the [proper] way of posts and offices is not abandoned a great deal, it is possible to look forward with joy to its rise, but looking at the situation in the Latter Age, [one sees that people] have been ignoring the laws of ancient sages, only taking examples from the times of evil rulers of the past and considering them as past precedents, and doing everything at will. Thus, they had fame, but their way ceased, etiquette and the Way of the offices were largely in disorder. Kiyomori, however, was imprudent about this, assumed this post, and more than sixty of his clansmen obtained high offices, ranks, and rewards unmatched in the state. Isn’t it a sign that the top was usurped and the etiquette fell into disorder? Therefore, from this time onward, the ruler’s authority weakened, great [Genpei] turmoil occurred in the state, and finally the ruler of the time, his retainers, and one of the three divine treasures of the state perished with an unprecedented rebellion that took place in the world. Isn’t it a warning for all ages? [...]

(...) 古^{いにしへ} 高官^{くわん} 高位^{たご}にそなはる人は。只^ち其人^{とく}の知徳^さ。王佐^{さい}の才と云事有て。其
 時の天子^{たすけ}を 祐^ち 奉り知徳有て。帝^{みかど}を 諫^{いさめ} 天道^{つたへ}を 伝^{かい}。一天四海^{くどく}。其功德^{くどく}によつて。
 江河^{ごうが}の 鱗^{うろくず} に至る迄。咸^{ことごとく} 安^{やす}き事を得たり。故にかゝる御代^{ごだい}には。知徳有て高
 官^{くわん}にのぼる人あれば。上下^{じやうげ}是を 悦^{よろこび} 其人死する時は。上下^{じやうげ}是をかなしむ。然るに
 末世^{しよ}に至ては。高官^{くわん}の人出来ぬれ共。下^{しも} 悦^{よろこぶ} 事なく。高位^いの人死去すれども。諸
 民^{みん}かなしむ事なく。未^な其高官^{くわん}高位^いの人 存^{あはれ} 有うちに。哀^{あはれ} 此人はやくかはれかし
 とは思ふといへども。敢^{あへ}て是を 悦^{よろこぶ} 事なし。是^かみな彼官位^{くわん}をたてたる其心をし
 らず。一世^{しよ}の名利^{めいり}になすが故也。加^{しか} 之^{のみならず} せめて官職^{くわん}の道^{みち}すたれさる時は。又起^{おこ}
 べき 楽^{たのしみ} も有ぬべけれども。末世^{しやう}の有様^こを見るに。上^{じやう} 古聖^{こせい}人の法^{はふ}をば 蔑^{ないがしろ} にな
 して。過去^{かこ}所の悪王^{あくわう}の時の例^{れい}をとつて。是^{いにしへ} 古^{れい}の例^{れい}なりとのみなし来り。一切^きを
 恣^{ほしいまゝ} にせり。故に其名^なは有といへども。其道^{みち}大きに絶果^{たえはて}。礼義^{くわん} 官^{くわん} 道^{みち}大きにみだ
 れたり。然に清盛^{しやう}かゝる思慮^{しりよ}なくして。此^{くわん} 官^{くわん}にのぼり。一門^{いもん}の人々に至る迄。
 六十^よ余人^{かた}天下^{てんか}に肩^{かた}をならぶる者なく。高官^{くわん}高位^い大禄^{たいろく}の身^みと成ぬる事。是上^{かみ}を 掠^{かすめ}
 礼義^{れいぎ}をみだる 驕^{しやう} ならずや。故に此時^いより王威^{おうい} 衰^{おとろへ} 来^き。天下^{てんか}の大乱^{だいらん} 生^{しやう} じて。終^{つい}
 其時^{きとき}の君臣^{きんしん}迄^き 亡^な。代々^{たいたい}天下^{てんか}の重宝^{じゆうほう}。三^{さん} 種^{しゆ} 神器^{きんぎ}に至るまで。世^よに 例^{れい} なき乱逆^{らんぎゃく}有
 事^{まつ}。是末代^{しまつ}の 禁^{いましめ} にあらずや。 (...) 299

After reminding readers of the proper selection, functions, and qualities of those who rise to high ranks, the commentator deplores the confusion and neglect of ancient laws regarding offices and appointments, especially criticizing the pursuit of temporary personal gain, following bad precedents, and acting as one pleases without concern for people and the state. This view of appointments, inspired by Confucian and Legalist classics, is first described in general terms as theory and then applied to the particular case of Kiyomori and the top Heike. The ruler is blamed for granting an inappropriately high post to Kiyomori, who is in turn criticized for accepting the wrong appointment, thereby contributing to the confusion in offices and ranks. The situation of

²⁹⁹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:5 “One Man’s Glory”).

Heike dominance at court is identified as one of the root causes of the entire Genpei conflict, succinctly summarized in a single sentence. The final exclamation reiterates the didactic point that the story of excessive Heike appointments is not a random event from the past, but a warning for later rulers and officials, which they should keep in mind when making or accepting appointments.

The topic of appointments surfaces repeatedly in the commentary as one of the central problems that rulers must approach with extreme care. In the next example, the contrast between the past and the Latter Age again shapes the comment's structure. The commentator expounds a peculiar view of ancient history—based on unidentified sources—informing readers about the hierarchy of officials, based on the merit and ability that was allegedly found in the past:

[...] So, from the High Antiquity, to have provinces and districts protected, one appointed a gentleman (*shi* 士) to a village to administer matters in that village. A person called gentleman is someone who has ability and virtue superior to those of seven hundred people. One appointed a person called *bu* 武 to a rural area, making him a manager of ten gentlemen. One appointed a person called *ri* 吏 to a district, making him a manager of ten *bu*. Also, one appointed a provincial governor (*kokushi* 国司) as a manager of ten *ri*. One ruled that province by [appointing] people who were more and more able and virtuous [at each level]. However, when one makes a person like this Morotsune a deputy of a province, eventually this exhausts people, brings chaos to manners and justice, and instead creates turmoil in the province. Thus, his appointment as a deputy was not due to [the ruler] caring about people, but only because he was caring about one person, deputy Morotsune. So, in the age of a bad ruler, appointing people as magistrates and deputy governors is considered to be something like doing them a favour. [...] Rulers of later ages! When appointing a provincial governor and his deputy (*jitō daikan* 地頭代官), compare and see by [your] mind whether the province's people or the appointed deputy is more close [to you], and send [the deputy] thinking about people as if they were [your own] children, then that province will be in order for a long time. Ah, how sad! In the Latter Age, this Way certainly ceases completely, and even when one thinks of bringing order to a province and appoints a governor, if the governor lacks true goodwill, he will bring chaos to the province and will become a disaster for society. Carefully perceive the great meaning of this!

(...) されば上古より国郡を守らしむる事。村には士を備て。その村中の事を
 取おこなはしむ。士と云は。民七百人に勝たる才徳有ものを云也。里には武と
 云者を備て。士十人の司となせり。郡には吏と云ものをそなへて。武十人の
 つかさとなせり。又吏十人の司には。国司を備たり。いづれも次第しだいに才
 徳のまさりたるものをもつて。其国を治給へり。然にこの師経がごとくなる者
 を。国の目代となし給ふ時は。結句民をつからかし。礼義をみだり。却て国の
 乱を生ず。しかれば目代をつかはさる事その国民を思召にはあらず。たゞ目代師
 経一人を思召故也。さうして悪王の時世には。奉行目代につかはさるゝものをば。
 其者に恩をあたふるがことくにおもふもの也。(...) 後代の人主。国の地頭代官
 を置れんには。其国の民と。又其おかるゝ所の代官と。いづれかしたしきと。
 君の心にてたくらべ御覧じて。民を子のごとくに思召てつかはさるゝ時は。其国
 治り長久成べし。あゝかなしひかな。末世に至らば。必この道たへ果て。国を
 おさめんと思ひて。地頭をすゑたりとも。其地頭まことの志なき者ならば。
 却て其国を乱し。世の禍となるべきもの也。慎で此大意を悟給へ³⁰⁰

The author gives a curious definition of a “gentleman” (*shi* 士) as a person superior in ability and virtue among seven hundred people, and who is in charge of the protection and administration of a village. It may be a compliment to Edo-period daimyo and warriors, but the emphasis is on merit without any mention of hereditary status. The main criticism is directed at bad rulers who assign the post of governors as a prize, thus resulting in incompetent administration, lack of care about people, and various troubles in the provinces. The final passage contains direct advice to later rulers, instructing them to treat people like their own children and to appoint governors accordingly. Lament about the Latter Age is apparently meant as a reminder that special care must be taken if one wishes to avoid the troubles that the Heike met in their time. One of the commentary’s purposes is to remove carelessness in state affairs and to raise awareness about the

³⁰⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:13 “The Fight over Ugawa”).

consequences of a ruler's mistakes. The counselling and admonishments seen in this comment are presented as the best means to achieve this goal.

Discussion of the contrast between ancient and later eras, or proper and improper ways of administration, is not limited to the top level of government, but includes lower levels of magistrates, for example.

[...] magistrates of the ancient age of the Sages, in the first place deeply restrained themselves rather than own retainers, and punished their own retainers rather than people of the world. Thus, their house was governed well and there was no private interest in official matters. When there is no private interest in official matters, laws are upheld well. When laws are upheld, the governance of society is correct, and when the governance is correct, the state is tranquil. Ah, how sad that when it comes to the Latter Age, few people have such comprehension and knowledge, and people with aptitude for greed, people ingenious in eccentricity are considered good people and receive the posts of magistrates. Although the post is low and the stipend is small, putting a person into this service can be considered a favour to him. Thus, much private interest has entered official matters and governance certainly cannot be correct. [...]

(...) ^{いにしへせい}古 ^{わがけ}聖代の奉行人は。我家人よりも。先わが身をふかく ^{いましめ}禁。世上の者よりも。先吾家人を罰す。 ^{このゆへ}所以に其家よく ^{おさまつ}治て公事に ^{わたくし}私なし。公事に ^じ私 ^{わたくし}なき時は。 ^{ほう}能其法たつ。其法立時は。世の ^{まつりことたゞ}政正し。政正時は。天下 ^{たいらか}平也。あゝかなしひかな末世に至らば。かやうの心得知人まれにして。 ^{よく}利欲に ^{さいかくに}才覚して。 ^{たくみ}ものずき巧なる人をよきものと心得。其奉行 ^{しよく}職 ^{さづけ}を授。其官 ^{ひきく}卑して其禄 ^{すくな}少けれ共。其役 ^{やく}に ^{そなふ}備る事をもつて。其者に ^{をん}恩と ^な成すべし。然ば公事に ^く私 ^じ多して。其 ^{まつりこと}政 ^{たゞし}必正かるべからず (...) ³⁰¹

Similar to the rulers, magistrates are called on to reflect on their own actions before punishing subordinates, and also to avoid private interest in state matters. This theoretical ideal—allegedly put into practice in the past by sage rulers—allows the commentator to express discontent with negative aspects of the Latter Age, such as greed, extravagance, and the centrality of private

³⁰¹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

interest. Following this general description, the commentator illustrates his point using two specific examples from the Kamakura period, i.e., cases that took place after the timeframe of the *Heike* itself.

[...] So, in the age of Takatoki, governor of Sagami in Kamakura,³⁰² low-level officials and footmen of low rank serving in positions of magistrates only received twenty *koku* of rice. They, however, used this rice to provide for parents and support families. In addition, they wanted to obtain clothing and have tasty food in the morning and evening. Receiving a mere twenty *koku* of rice, how could they pay for all these expenses? Moreover, their residences appeared superior to the houses of officials, and their clothes were similar to those of warriors. Their wives, children, and even brothers were displaying beautiful and colourful dresses, and it was impossible to afford even one-tenth of that based on the twenty *koku* provided by their lord. So, where did they seek the remaining nine-tenths from? All of this could be done only by usurping the law and taking greedily, or else by committing robberies. This, however, is not entirely the work of those low-level officials. It amounts to the ruler of that time enabling them to do it. However, in the past, when Yasutoki of Kamakura³⁰³ was in power, since he followed the Great Way, he did not establish laws for all matters, but the world was naturally tranquil and there were few lawsuits. Therefore, everybody, seek the Great Way! [...]

(...) されば鎌倉の相模守高時の世には。奉行職につかふる所の雑色。足輕どもに。漸米貳拾石を宛行。然るに彼等。其米をもつて親を養妻子を育。加之衣服をとゝのへ。朝夕の食にも味を求と欲。然ば米貳拾石をもつて。如何ぞ是を。不足ながらもつくなふ事を得べけんや。加之彼等有様。其家室をみれば士の家居にはまさり。其衣服をみれば武の衣服に等しく。妻子兄弟に至る迄美々好色をかざる時は。上より給処の貳拾石は。十分の一ツにも足るべからず。然らば残る九分をば何れの所より是を求めんや。是皆。法をかすめ。むさほりとらずんば。外又別には剛盜をなすより他なかるべし。是併。皆彼雑色のなす所にあらず。時の上より是をなさしむるに等し。然ども古鎌倉の泰時政を執行給ひける時は。大道を心根なし給ひける故。万事制法を出さず

³⁰² Hōjō Takatoki (1303-1333) – the ninth and last Kamakura *shikken* (shogun's regent).

³⁰³ Hōjō Yasutoki (1183-1242) – the third Kamakura *shikken*.

といへども。世上^{じねん}自然と^{しづか}静にして。世の^{うつたへ}訟も^{すくな}少かりき。故に人々大道を^{もとめ}求
おはしませ。 (...) ³⁰⁴

The first negative example tells about corrupt magistrates who abused their power for personal gain, and the ruler is blamed for appointing and mismanaging them. The second positive example shows an able ruler who governed well, achieving tranquility and order in the state. Interestingly, both of them are formally in the Latter Age, but the capable and responsible ruler was as successful as the sage rulers of the past. Thus, readers are reminded that a sage ruler does not necessarily have to live in remote antiquity: in this case, only a century separates the good third regent from the bad and last ninth regent, who did not maintain power and brought the state to a long period of confusion. Such examples reinforce the heart/mind-centred view of the commentary and give the hope of success to rulers living in the Latter Age, provided they exert the proper attitude, effort, and understanding of statecraft.

The next passage about religions is also structured by the historical comparison between the past and the period of later decline. The opinion of the commentator can be said to resemble the ideas of National Learning (*kokugaku*), especially the focus on the necessity of Shinto revival for the harmony and stability of the state. The “now” in the comment, ambiguously referring to the Genpei conflict and the early Edo, is characterized by general ignorance, the neglect of Shinto, and the dominance of disordered Buddhism:

[...] In general, one of the mistakes of Japan’s Imperial Way is to often mix Buddhist services into festivals at the Retired Emperor’s palace. For this reason, Shintō was naturally abandoned, and now in Japan’s Shintō shrines, too, in all rituals they only use Buddhist sutras, and there are few people who know the original meaning of Shintō. Japan, originally being the land of the gods, established the Imperial Law by means of Shintō. By abandoning it, the Imperial Law naturally loses its authority. So, on all occasions [Buddhists?] chant, and much [of Shintō?] has been lost. It appears that in the

³⁰⁴ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

High Antiquity there was also such an understanding, but later it [Shintō] has been naturally declining. Thus, Shintō did not become enemy of the Court through arrogance and prosperity, but often the Buddhist Law was very arrogant, and thus became the enemy of the Court, troubling the state. So, is it not a sign that there were mistakes [in Buddhism] since the time of High Antiquity? Nevertheless, Buddhist Law now should not be abandoned. Only when examining the original meaning of the Imperial Law will the lord devote himself to the virtue of the sages of the past and raise and select the wise and talented, thinking of all the people as his children, Shintō, which declined a long time ago, will of itself arise and be renewed. The arrogant and disordered Buddhist Way, too, will of itself become the original True Law. Therefore, without examining the outside, examine the lord's [i.e., your own] mind as well as right and wrong [qualities] of close retainers. Thus, Shintō and the Buddhist Way will be in harmony and will become the true Great Way made of two parts. Then, naturally, the Imperial Law will be auspicious, the state calm and whole, and no evil acts similar to those of recent times will be committed within the Buddhist Way. Therefore, think about and know times like these, and discern the signs of disorder and turmoil in the Latter Age!

(...) さうじて日本。王法の^{あやまり} 誤^{せんとう} には。仙洞の祭礼に。仏事をまじへ給ふ事多し。^{おほ} 故に神道自然に^{すたれ} 廢^{いま} て。今日本の神社にも。皆もつて神事には。仏^{きやう} 經^{もちい} をのみ用て。神道の^い 本意を知人まれ也。それ日本はもと神国にして。神道をもつて王法をたてたり。然るを^{すて} 捨ぬるが故に。王法自然に其威をうしなへり。故に^{ばん} 万事^{となへ} 唱うしなふ事多し。上古にはかやうの心得も有とは見えたれども。後々において自然とおとろへ来る物也。所以に神道^{このゆへ} 儒^{おごりはんじやう} 繁昌^{てう} して。朝敵と成たる事はなけれども只仏法大に^{おごり} 儒^{てう} を生じ。朝敵と成て天下を苦しめたる事多し。然は是上古より^{あやまり} 誤^こ 有しるしにあらずや。さればとて今更又仏法を捨べきにはあらず。唯王法の^い 本意をたゞ^{きみ} され。君先聖の徳を^{せい} 専^{とく} とし給ひ。賢才を^{もつはら} 挙げらひ。万民を子のごとくに思召時は。絶て久しき神道も。自然と起りあらたまり。儒^{たへ} てみだるゝ仏道も。^{おこ} 自^{おごり} 本の正法と成べし。故に外をたゞされずして。君の御意と。近臣の邪正を^{をのつから} 糺し給へ。然ば神道と仏道と和合して。実^{まこと} の^ぶ 兩部の大道となるべし。其時は自然と王法もめでたく。天下も安全にして。仏道も只今のごとく。悪行を^{なす} 為事有べからず。故にかやうの時世を^{かんがへ} 勘^{まつ} 知て。末世^{ちよく} 濁^{らん} 乱^{さと} の乱相を悟りおはしませ³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

Shinto is described as the original religion of Japan: the “land of the gods” or “divine land” (*shinkoku* 神国), upon which the imperial institution was constructed and maintained. From a clearly pro-Shinto perspective, mixing Buddhist elements into court rituals is explicitly denounced as a mistake of the imperial court which led to the neglect of Shinto, with the eventual erosion of the imperial authority. The text highlights the prosperity and arrogance of Buddhist institutions, which on many occasions led them to rivalry and conflict with the court. Unlike the usual praise for the past, the commentary states that even in antiquity, Buddhism had flaws which caused troubles in the state. It advises maintaining both Shinto and Buddhism, and notes that their revival is tied to the ruler’s virtue, wisdom, and compassion.³⁰⁶ Importantly, religion is seen more as a means than as an independent entity above the state. Readers are told that in antiquity, the imperial institution was established by means of Shinto. In the advice, the ruler’s mind and virtues are given priority as prerequisites for the rectification of Shinto and Buddhism. These religions are evidently seen as necessary components that contribute to harmony and order within the state. This view matches the overall policy of the late medieval lords and the Tokugawa shogunate to keep religious institutions dependent on the state. The issues raised in this comment were discussed by many thinkers of the Edo period, which shows their high relevance and even practical significance.

³⁰⁶ The commentary *Heike monogatari shō* also states:

Transmission says: [...] They say that in the mind of a sage, buddhas and kami [deities] are constantly found. It should be understood that it is bad to break Buddhist Law that has been venerated for two thousand years from the one person on top down to all the people, and being born in the land of deities to make light of the Way of Gods [Shinto]. In all matters, one should keep following the Middle Way.
 伝云 (...) 聖人の心には仏神常住とせり二千年此かた上一人より下万人にいたるまで崇敬しきたりし仏法をやふり神国に生れ神道をないがしろにみなすはあしきと心得べき也たゞ諸事につけ中道を専と行へき事にや

Heike monogatari shō, 64.

The examples discussed in this section show that many comments are structured by the contrast between the “age of the sages” and the “Latter Age.” As follows from the above passages, the “age of the sages” is understood not only as a chronological category of antiquity described in ancient classics, but also as an age of wise rule that can be repeated in any time period. The “Latter Age” is likewise viewed as any period of decline or bad rule. This binary framework is useful for didactic purposes because it provides the commentator with a scale for evaluating specific deeds and attitudes described in the *Heike*. In the examined passages, the commentator brings attention to mistakes and weaknesses, and also teaches the principles of wise rule, using this framework to discuss statecraft-related topics such as appointments, inspection, corruption, and religion.

In this chapter, I have so far examined five common commentarial techniques used in the *Heike hyōban*: addition of content supplementing the *Heike*; use of a lecture format with direct advice and admonition to rulers; reliance on quotes to support the argument; modification of characterization; and contrast of ancient ideals of statecraft with common faults. These approaches are commonly used in didactic texts and commentaries in general, and their use in the *Heike hyōban* puts this work into the same category of texts. The significance of the *Heike hyōban* lies in its application of these approaches to the *Heike* content for the purpose of creating a didactic guide to statecraft and ethics intended for rulers. All the approaches discussed here enable the commentator to assume the role of a mentor or advisor who uses the *Heike* content as illustrative material and the starting point for developing a treatise or a lecture on leadership. These commentarial techniques help the commentator derive instructive admonitions and profound lessons from the *Heike* content. The consistent concern with the theme of leadership, evident in most comments, contributes to the rereading of the *Heike* as a cautionary treatise on

statecraft for Edo-period warrior-officials. In the following section, I continue to explore the content of the *Heike hyōban* commentary, focusing on the topic of military studies.

5.2 The Stance of the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike karui* on Military Studies

The following discussion investigates the views held by the commentators of the *Heike hyōban* and the early-eighteenth-century *Heike karui* regarding military studies. Both texts are part of the military studies scholarship—or at least produced by people well-versed in this field—and contain information that clarifies how the field was perceived in the first half of the Edo period, and what its role was in the education of warrior-officials. The passages examined in this section shed light on the beliefs and attitudes of the commentators that affected their evaluations of the *Heike* content.

As explained in Chapter 2, military studies was a competitive and diverse network of people and texts discussing leadership and ethics. Criticizing other schools or certain aspects of military studies was practiced within the field, and critics were not necessarily outsiders negating the worth of the entire field. The *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike karui* also critically comment on this topic. Knowing people and schools involved in the creation of these two commentaries would help clarify their worldview, enigmatic background, and relation to military studies. The *Heike hyōban* may be a text of an existing school or an attempt by a scholar or a group to establish a new school of military studies based on the content of the *Heike* and its historical figures—especially Taira no Shigemori, Minamoto no Yoritomo, and Minamoto no

Yoshitsune.³⁰⁷ Unfortunately, there is no clear information about the authors, and internal evidence remains the main source for analysis.

The main purpose of the *Heike karui* is to correct mistakes in the *Heike hyōban*. Some aspects of the *Heike hyōban* are criticized in the *Heike karui*, but the disagreement between these two texts approaches a discussion between people with different opinions. Just as the *Heike hyōban*'s worldview often differs from that of the *Heike*, the worldview of the *Heike karui*'s author differs from that of the *Heike hyōban*. This commentarial conflict and discussion do not negate the work commented, but allow the addition of one's own views to the existing content. Being affiliated with military studies, the *Heike hyōban*'s author(s) had their own position expressed in critical passages about military studies and warriors in which they point out unsatisfactory qualities and attitudes of Genpei warriors, while also hinting at their contemporaries.

Reading several commentaries, rather than just the *Heike*, gives more information and guides a reader to think about state matters, order and disorder, possible decisions and consequences, leadership, and ethics. This kind of participation in the discussion of state issues and evaluation of other people's comments and opinions was part of the education of warrior-officials and also served as training for reading and criticizing other texts, expressing one's own views, and giving advice. All of these were necessary skills for both administrative and scholarly work. As I will show in Chapter 7, texts of different kinds—such as Confucian classics, history books, the *Taiheiki* or the *Heike*, and even the *Tale of Genji*—could serve as a starting point for such administrative, political, or ethical discussions aimed at practical application. The creation

³⁰⁷ For example, the *Taiheiki hyōban* commentary on the *Taiheiki* of the Kusunoki-ryū school centres on the figure of Kusunoki no Masashige, presented as the ideal ruler and general.

or study of such commentaries, conceived as a debate about historical matters, was seen as an inherently useful activity influencing readers' views on governance and ethics.

For example, commenting on the episode in the *Heike* in which Shigemori visits his father Kiyomori without any guards after the Shishi-no-tani plot is discovered, the *Heike hyōban* develops the following discussion about planning and preparedness, as well as prerequisites for understanding strategy:

Evaluation says: One who uses warriors well hides like shade and appears like lightning. So, one who defends well hides below the ninth ground [level], one who attacks well moves above the ninth heaven. Thus, the strategy of Lord Komatsu [Shigemori] is to make his preparations well so that other people do not know about it. Clearly, saying “[how can you] not take along an armed guard in such a crisis” [means that] Sadayoshi's mind is foolish. A good general should know [everything in] the world without going out of the gates, and should know the Heavenly Way without looking out of the window. Thus, because he clearly knows the entire matter, even if there is something unexpected, he is not astonished at once. A worthless person is usually ignorant, relies on the power he has today, and only thinks of ease. When there is something unexpected, he falls at once. Thus, without perceiving the difference between wisdom and foolishness, one is unable to understand strategy and such. People of the Latter Age collect bad witty sayings (?), think that they are bright and the opponent is foolish. There are many people in the world who think that using those witty ideas they will easily win in battle. This is just like entering into an abyss holding a stone. [...] A good general does not rely solely on terrain. He [also] attacks the opponent unexpectedly. Thus, the opponent is divided into ten parts. When our side works together, we attack the opponent's one part with ten parts. Therefore, it is like breaking into eggs with a stone. So, strategy has that which is prepared inside one's heart/mind. If one does not know this principle, one cannot understand military changes. Think about it and perceive it! There is a secret transmission.

評曰よく兵を用るものはかくれたる事陰のごとく。顕たる事電光のごとし。
故によく守ものは。九地の下にかくれ。よく責ものは九天の上にごく。されば小松殿の兵法。よく其備る所に備給ふによつて。人其そなへをしらず。是ほどの御大事に。軍兵をば召つれられざりけると申ける。貞能が心の程愚と云に足らず。良将は門を出ずして天下をしり。窓をのぞかずして天道を知べし。故に事の始終を明にしるが故に。不慮の事有といへども。俄に動転する事なし。小人は平生に暗くして。己が今日の威勢を頼。安にのみ心ををくによつて。不慮

の事有時は。俄に顛倒するもの也。故に智と愚との異なる事をさとらずして。兵法
 法など知べきものにあらず。末世の人々よからぬこそ事を集て。己を明也と
 し。敵を愚になして。其こそ事をもつて輒軍に勝べきとおもふ人世に多し。
 是たゞ石をいだきて淵に入がごとし。 (...) 良将全其地形をのみたのまず。
 只敵のおもはざる時に向て是を攻。故に敵は分て十手と成。我は一手となると
 きは。我十手をもつて敵の一手をせむ。この故に石をもつて卵のうちに打入る
 がごとし。故に兵法。心の中に備所有。此理を知らずんば。兵の变化知べから
 ず。心を廻して悟給へ。口伝有³⁰⁸

With the typical emphasis on wisdom as the best quality of a general or ruler, the commentator suggests that preparedness and knowledge about the current political or military situation serve to safeguard against unexpected developments. An ignorant and idle person who relies on current power, however, cannot withstand sudden changes. The critic then shifts to denouncing current “witty” approaches to strategy that promise easy wins. In his opinion, people of the Latter Age, which spans from the late Heian to the author’s present, mistakenly trust various ingenious teachings aimed at outsmarting foolish opponents. The writer apparently warns against following advice given by untrustworthy people who offer easy solutions, but at the same time hints at rival scholars of military studies whose teachings are described as a stone with which one drowns. The idea that a person whose heart/mind is not wise enough will not discern true strategy is, however, mocked in the *Heike karui* as a deception:

[...] “Unless one practices military studies for years one cannot understand them. When one knows how to prepare one’s heart/mind, one understands changes.” These are entirely things [people say] teaching self-styled philosophy and deceiving men and women. In general, military changes are not learned and not transmitted. Military [science] is originally a technique of taking measures appropriate to the occasion. One recognizes [a technique] as being [always] right, but it is wrong. One says it is wrong, but

³⁰⁸ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 3 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 2:4 “The Lesser Remonstrance”).

it is [sometimes] right. Truly, it is understandable that the Japanese people are confused by this Way.

(...) 兵法の執行年月を経るにあらざれば知る事不能心の備を知れば変化を
 知るといふ是悉く野狐禅を説て人家の男女を魔魅するもの也凡そ兵の変化はな
 らふ物にも非らず伝ふる物にも非らず兵は元より臨機応変の術にして是と認る
 も非也非といふもまた是なり誠に此道日本人の迷ふも断なり³⁰⁹

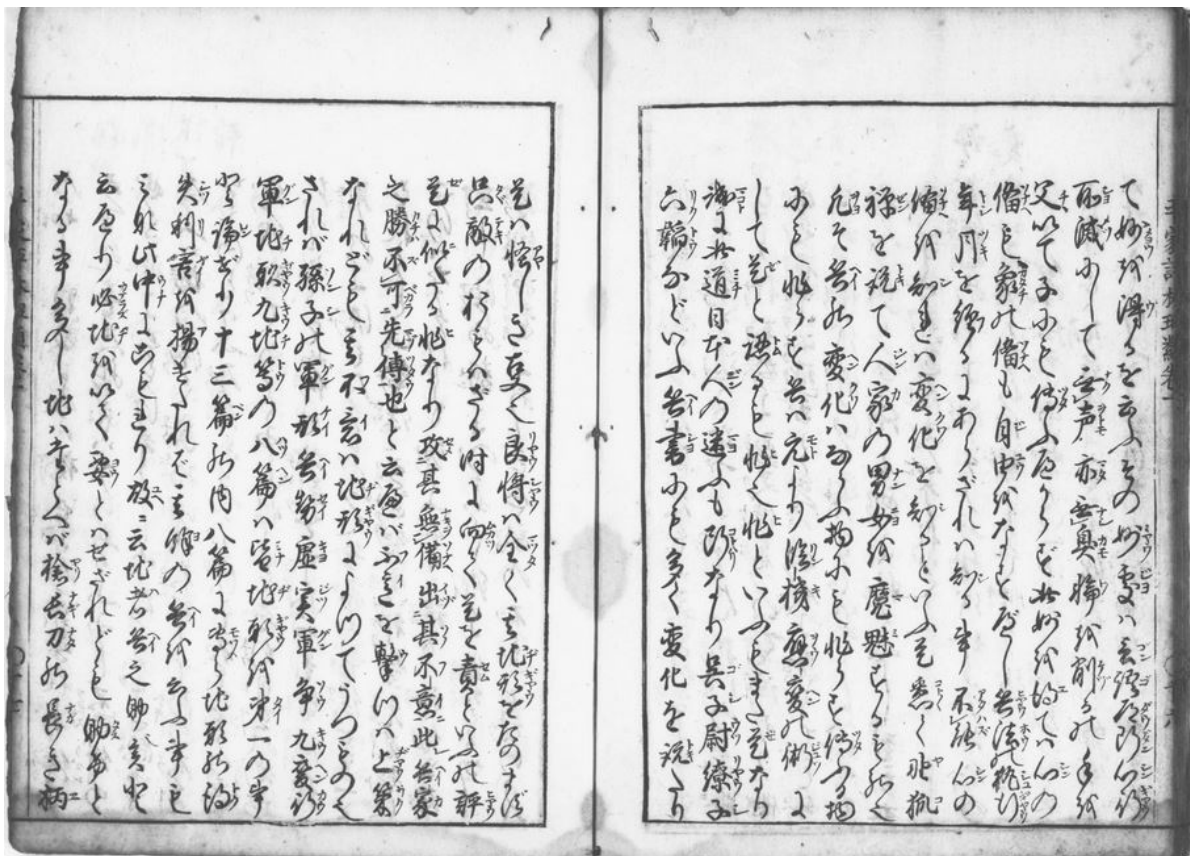


Fig. 4 A page from the *Heike karui* with a comment about “The Lesser Remonstrance” section of the *Heike*³¹⁰

Contrary to the heart/mind and wisdom focus of the *Heike hyōban*, the commentator of the *Heike karui* defines military science as “a technique of taking measures appropriate to the occasion,”

³⁰⁹ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 2:4 “The Lesser Remonstrance”).

³¹⁰ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1. Niigata University Sano Bunko Collection, National Institute of Japanese Literature, http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_B_100148589.

and notes that its principles are not constant, but depend on the specific situation. This is given as the reason why variable military principles are “not learned and not transmitted,” and also why they are confusing to the Japanese. In the *Heike karui*, with its noticeable tendency to emphasize national differences, the attribution of military texts shifts from universal “ancient sages” to “the Chinese,” which becomes a reason for criticizing them as foreign concepts not meant for Japan.

A very informative passage showing the attitude of the *Heike hyōban* commentator towards schools and military studies appears in the following comment:

Evaluation says: When the Human Way is not correct, cold and heat occur out of season. It is said that wind and rain harm all things. Indeed, when one observes the rule of the world at this time, high and low entirely put propriety in disorder. Since it is the time that should be called a dark age, it is completely reasonable that such [natural] disasters happen. [...] Wind and rain in the world are out of season and become trouble for the world because the government of the person who is the ruler is unjust. In general, when one thinks about trends of heaven and earth, there are certainly times of phases [waxing and waning]. Thus, even in the age of sages there were strong winds, rains, and drought, but these are certainly phase times of heaven and earth's trends. [...] The *Book of Filial Piety* says: “If one is on top and is not arrogant, one is high, but is not in peril. Being full, but not overflowing, one keeps wealth for a long time.” However, when one considers the world in that time period [in the *Heike*], since it is a time when high people rise higher and become more arrogant and those who are not full all exceed their share and increase their arrogance, how can there be no disorder eventually? So, at this time, the Imperial Law declined for the first time, military houses obtained its authority and did as they pleased with the state. If one inquires about the reason, since the emperor at the time was too elevated [from others], and below him from the regent to senior nobles and court nobles all have become more extravagant than even their office and rank in everything, it was difficult for all matters to reach the top. So, the rule of the state did not go as expected, people in the world naturally neglected the Imperial Law. Due to [people] slighting and turning away from the top, enemies of the court rose in various places. So, in order to suppress them, [the court] dispatched warriors making them generous favours and bestowing them high ranks. For this reason, warriors increased their influence more and more, they were repeatedly rewarded for their services, and it happened that some rose to positions of ministers, chancellors and such. Soon, however, arrogance of these warrior houses increased, they became elevated in all matters like emperors of old, and it was certainly difficult for all matters to reach the top. So, the time definitely came for them to fall again. So, generals of the Latter Age, reflect on this, and certainly being high,

do not be arrogant! Even more so, being in a lower position, even if one is full, one should not overflow. And how much more so in the case of those who are not full! Ah, how deplorable is propriety in Japan! Since Shinto ceased, all manners lost their original purpose, and in the recent period [people] consider [traditions/schools] called the Ogasawara-ryū and such to be ways to know manners of the world. Much of the true propriety of Japan was lost due to schools called this ryū or that ryū. Since [people] do not know the origin of the Way, they came to consider these [schools to have] original purpose. [The original purpose] is not in saying that [such manners] existed until the Engi and Tenryaku eras while they were not yet found then, and not in saying “Abandon that which is called such-and-such ryū!” Not knowing the original purpose of propriety and merely transmitting nothing but its [formal] shape, in many cases, on the contrary, they end up distorting propriety when it comes to subsequent ryū. So, it is difficult for a lord who is a ruler to succeed without knowing the [true] Way of propriety. Being on top and not being arrogant, is it not propriety? Being full but not overflowing, it is also propriety. [...] A good general knows what is coming [judging] from what has happened, knows what appears [judging] from what is hidden. If his wisdom is not like this, how can he perceive and know the opponent’s position? People of the Latter Age, however, do not know the Way to seek wisdom and virtue. They study the Way of the military called this ryū or that ryū, and wish to know the Way of warriors. Needless to say, this is foolish. However, it is absolutely lamentable when a person who is a military person born in the family of warriors [house of archery and horsemanship] does not study at least such a narrow path [of learning]. When a person who should be a general over a multitude of people only studies such a narrow path [of learning], his spirit and nature of themselves become false and crooked, and on the contrary, it will become the basis of disaster that will ruin his family and state. Therefore, carefully study the true strategy!

評曰。人道^{たど}正^{ただ}しからざる時は。寒暑^{しよ}時ならず。風雨^{かい}万物を害すと云り。実^{げに}やこの時世^{まつりごと}の政^{みる}を見に。上下^{こと／＼} 悉^{こと} 礼法をみだり。とこやみの世とも謂^{いつ}つべき時なれば。かゝる^{わざはひ} 災^{こと} 出来ぬる事。理^{こと} なきにしもあらず。(…)天下の風雨時ならずして。世上のわづらひと成事^{また}是亦人主たるべき人の政^{まつりごと} よこしまなるが故也。尤天地の氣運^{うん あんずる}を 按^あ 時は。盈虚^{えい き}のときなきにしもあらず。故に聖人の御代にも天下に大風大雨旱魃^{かんぼう}の有ける事有。然ども是は正^{まさ}く。天地の氣運^{き うん}の盈虚^{えい き}の時也。(…)孝^{かう} 經^{きやう} 曰。上に居おこらずんは高^{たか}けれども危^{あやう} ならず。満れどもあふれざるは。長^{とみ}く富をたもつ所也。と云り。然に其時の世を勘^{かんが}へみるに。高き人は彌^{いよ／＼} 高くしておごり。満^{みた}ざるものも。皆^{ぶん}分に過^{すぎ}て 僞^{おごり} を長ずる時なれば。いかなぞ是^{ついで} 終にはみだれざるべけんや。さればこの時王法始てかたふき。武家其威を得て。

天下を^{ほしいまゝ}恣^{うづたかく}になしける。故をたつねみれば。時のみかどあまりに^{うづたかく}堆^{まし} / \。
 其下の^{せつしやう}摂政^{きやうてん}殿^{いたる}をはじめ。公卿^{きやうてん}殿上人^{いたる}に至^{うづたかく}まで。その官位よりも万物^{うづたかく}堆^く成
 ぬるか故に。一切の事上^{かみ}に通^{つう}じがたし。故に世の^{まつりごと}政^{まつりごと}。事ゆかずして。世上自
 然^{わう}と王法^{わう}をうとみ。上^{かろん}を軽^{そむく}じ背^{そむく}によつて。所々に朝敵^{てうてき}おこる事有。しかれば是
 を制^{せい}せんが為^{あつく}に恩^{あつく}を厚^{あつく}し。位^{たかく}を高^{たかく}し。武家^{いよ}をつかはさる。この故に武家^{いよ}彌^い威
 光^{くわう}を高^{くわう}くして。重^{こう}而又^{しやう}其功^{しやう}を賞^{くはん}ぜられては。或は大臣^{くはん}関^{とう}白^{とう}等の官位^{へあが}に経^{へあが}上^{へあが}る世
 となれり。然に又^{かの}彼武家^{かの}。いつとなくその^{おごり}侈^{おごり}長^{いにしへ}じて。万事^{いにしへ}古^{ていわう}の帝王^{ていわう}のごとく
^{うづたかく}堆^{うづたかく}して。一切の事上^{かみ}に通^{つう}じがたかるへし。然ば必又ほろぶべき時世と成べし。
 故に末世の武将。この所をかへりみまし / \。必高きに居て^{おこり}侈^{おこり}給^{おこり}ふ事なかれ。
^{いはんや}況^{しむ}又其下として。満^{みつる}ともあふるべからず。まして^{いはんや}矧^{いはんや}みたざる人においてを
 や。あゝなげかしきかな本朝の礼法。神道絶果てより。一切の作法。みな本意を
 うしなひ。近代は小笠原流など云る事をもつて。世の礼しれる道とす。日本の正
 礼を^{うしなへ}失^{うしなへ}る事は。この何流かりうと云るより^{うしなひ}失^{うしなひ}たる事多し。道の本元をしらざ
 るがゆへに。かやうの事を本意となし来れり。延喜天曆の御宇までは。いまだ
 かやうにはなかりし物を。然りとて又かの流と云へる事を捨よとにはあらず。礼
 と云ものゝ本意をしらずして。たゞその^{かたち}形^{かたち}をのみ^{もつはら}専^{もつはら}となし^{つたへ}伝^{つたへ}来るによつて。
 其すゑ / \ の流に至ては。却て礼をみだる事共多し。然ば世の主たる君は。礼道
 を知給はずして^{かなひ}叶^あがたし。上^あに居て^{おごら}侈^{おごら}ざるも是礼にあらずや。満れどもあふれ
 ざるは。又是礼なり(...)良将は其往をもつて来を知。かくれたるを以あらはれ
 たるを知。もしその^{しる}智^ち。かくのごとくならずんば。いかなぞ。敵陣^{てきちん}をさつし知る
 べけんや。然るに末世の人。其智徳をもとむる道を知ず。彼流此流といふ。軍の
 道^{がく}を学^{がく}し。兵道をしらんなどほつする事。愚^{おろか}と云に足らず。然ばとて武たるも
 の。弓馬の家に生れて。責^{せめ}てさやうのこみち成とも^{まなば}学^{まなば}ざる事是又一向うたてき
 事也。たゞ萬人の大將たるべき人。さやうのこみちをのみ^{かく}学^{かく}し給ふ時は。その氣
 情^{じやうをのつか}自^{いつはり}偽^{まがり}曲^{まがり}。却て其家其国を亡すへき^{ほろぼ}禍^{わざはひ}の基^{もと}と成べし^{かるかゆへつゝしん}故^{まこと}謹^{まこと}て真の
 兵法^{がく}を学^{がく}し給へ³¹¹

³¹¹ Heike hyōban, vol. 5 (comment on the Heike, Chapter 3:10 “The Whirlwind”).

This long section begins with the concept of natural disasters being linked with disorder in society and government, which was a widespread belief in the Edo period. Then, the issue of moderation is discussed as the root of historical cycles of the rise and decline of imperial rule and the subsequent warrior rule. In essence, the top rulers during the imperial period fell into excessive luxury and separated themselves from the lower levels of society whose members then neglected the top, becoming court enemies. Their suppression by warriors was rewarded with influential posts and warriors, primarily the Heike in this case, rose to high positions and eventually fell into excessive luxury, thereby increasing the risk of a fall. This historical overview supports the advice given to rulers who are reminded about moderation.

Next, the discussion moves to the overall decline in manners in Japan, which is surprisingly linked with the decline of Shinto. The excerpt about various schools of manners created in recent times, that is, during the late medieval and early Edo periods, convincingly shows that newly-established schools of all kinds were criticized in general. False claims, competition between schools, and importance given to formal appearance rather than true essence are given as defects that have led to the loss and distortion of true manners. Linking this accusation with the idea of moderation, as discussed earlier, the commentator suggests that various schools do not teach about moderation, focusing instead on formal details.

In the final excerpt, the author expresses his view of military studies schools which are seen as “a narrow path [of learning]” compared to the true way of wisdom and virtue. Negatively assessing the current popularity of various schools, the author warns that they do not make a person wiser and more virtuous, and therefore they are insufficient for someone who manages large groups of people. Not studying them at all is “lamentable” for a warrior, but limiting one’s study to this narrow field will result in a “false and crooked” character which will have

disastrous consequences for the state. In other words, studying a military studies school is necessary, but insufficient for a general or ruler. According to the commentator, the ideal teaching for warriors thus combines wisdom and virtue with military accomplishments, quite in accordance with the common idea of balancing the civil and the martial. It is not fully clear whether the *Heike hyōban* was understood by its author as a text of a specific school of military studies. Either competing schools are criticized and the *Heike hyōban* is presenting itself as a text of the school that teaches “true strategy,” or the *Heike hyōban* distances itself from various schools altogether and criticizes them giving advice from a higher position of universal wisdom. In both cases an attempt is made to stay ahead of other schools and scholars competing for the attention of daimyo lords and prominent warrior-officials.

The following excerpt from the *Heike hyōban* also contains an interesting comment on military studies:

Evaluation says: [...] There is a way to prevail over any opponent and bring order to any rule, but generations of foolish generals do not know about it. Rather, they only increase the basis for a big crisis. Comprehend that the governance becomes continuous because of [relying on the ways of] the ancient age of the sages. Is it not a clear evidence for this? However, how can one know this Way? It is only in seeking [proper] people. How does one seek these people? When one only loves good people and prefers good deeds, then unawares these people will fill one’s house. When the lord is not [like a proper] lord, however, then vassals are also not [like proper] vassals, and at this time evil generals like Kiyomori appear and trouble the lord as vassals. It is true that in the case of this [Shishi-ga-tani] plot, Kiyomori is right. However, if Kiyomori would have previously respected the lord [emperor], have been correct in proprieties, have shown compassion to court nobles, of course, and to all the people in the empire, then the lord should not have thought about such a plot, but since Kiyomori was not virtuous, excessively arrogant, troubled the lord, and behaved in extreme ways, then [the lord] thought about even such a plot. Even if the lord is mistaken in general, if Kiyomori, knowing the Way of lord and vassals, would rectify past faults and focus on benevolence, then how would this eventually not lead to a lasting reconciliation? Foolish people, however, tend not to know that people’s hatred is due to their own distorted judgment. Rather, they wish to retaliate on those who hate them. Thus, both sides fall into injustice and finally perish. This is indeed a common practice among confused people. Thus, the best way to correct oneself,

order one's home, rule the state and govern the empire is only to set one's mind/heart straight. Upon accumulating virtue in one's heart and controlling one's mind, even if one is a humble mountain dweller, one will certainly obtain everlasting fame, eventually getting a big reward, and also a long life. The *Three Strategies* says: "One does not defend it by means of castle walls. One hides it inside the chest [heart/mind], and the opponent's state submits."³¹² For many generations there are numerous people reciting this text, but it appears that few know its meaning. Indeed, it happens that one keeps it [virtue; the Way] inside one's chest and opponent's state submits. How is it kept inside one's chest? The Way of [making] an opponent's state submit is done neither by means of the number of people nor by means of castle walls. It is the Way that is only accomplished by keeping it inside one's chest. What can be as valuable as this treasure? In the Latter Age, however, people born in a general's family and those who are engaged in the Way of archery and horsemanship study military strategy, but they exert their minds in trivial matters and they do not study that there exists the Way that is kept only in one's mind. Considering this text [the *Three Strategies*] a text from a different land they either say that it only tells about [theoretical] principles and has no [practical] application, or they say that this text is extensive in principles and not appropriate for [this] time. They do not comprehend this text's deep essence at all. Thus, they often do not transmit this text and are unable to know military strategy. [I] write this down for students of the Latter Age. How is it [the Way] kept in one's mind? What is [the meaning of] this line? There is a transmission of military studies [about this].

評曰(…)いかなる敵^{てき}にもかち。いかなる世をも^{おさむる}治道あれども。世々の愚将是を^{かへつ}しらず。却て大乱の基^{もと}をのみ長ずるもの也。古^{いにしへ}の聖代^{せい}を以^{もつて}。治世長久なる事を^{さと}り悟^{あきら}給へ。是^{せう}明^こなる証拠ならずや。然どもこのみちいかんがして知べけんや。たゞ人^{もとむ}を求^{もとめ}るに有。如何して其人^{たゞ}を求^{あひ}ん哉。唯善人^じを愛^{このむ}し。善事を好時は。はからずして。其人其家^{みつ}に満べし。されば君々たらざる時は。臣も臣たらざるものなれば。又この時に清盛がごとくの悪将出合。臣として君を^い悩^{なやま}し奉る事有。尤このたびの謀叛^{むほん}は。是清盛が道理なれども。清盛兼て君を^{かね}敬^{うやまひ}奉り。礼義^{たよし}正^くして。公卿^{ぎやうてん}殿上人は申に及ず。天下の万民^{みん}までも^{あはれみ}憐^{あはれ}給ふ時は。君もかゝる事をば思召^{とく}たゝせ給ふまじきに。清盛不徳^{とく}にして^{おごり}憍^{きはめ}を極^{なやまし}。君を^{うへ}悩^{なやまし}奉り。上なきふるまひをなしけるによつて。かゝる事をも思召^{よら}寄せ給ふもの也。縦^{たとひ}君一往^{わう}の御誤^{あやまり}有といふとも。清盛君臣^{くんしん}の道を存る時は。古^{いにしへ}の非^{あらため}を改^{じん}て。仁徳^{じんとく}を

³¹² The "Superior strategy" chapter of the *Three Strategies*: "He [the Sage] guards it [the subtle], but without city walls. He stores it away in his breast, and enemy states submit." See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 293.

専^{もつはら}とせば。いかな^{つひ}ぞ終には長久^{くはぶく}の和睦もなかるべけんや。然に愚^ぐ人のならひ。
 己^{をのれ}が僻^{ひが}めるによつて。人の憎^{にくむ}と云事をしらず。却て其^{にくむ}惡所^{にくむ}の人に向て讎^{あた}をな
 さんと欲^{ほつ}す。故に共に不義^{とも}に陷^{おちいつ}て。終には其身^{つひ}を亡^{ほろぼ}す。是^{まことに}誠^{まよひ}世上迷^{まよひ}の人の
 常^{つね}のならひ也。故に身を治^{おさめ}。家をとゝのへ。国を治^{おさめ}。天下を治るの要^{かなめ}は。唯^{たゞ}
 其心^{たゞしう}を正^{とく}するにしかじ。心中に徳^{とく}をつもり。一心^{つゐに}を治めぬる上は。縦^{たとひしづ}賤山^{たゞ}が
 つの類^{たぐひ}なりとも。必末代に至る迄その名高く。終^{つゐに}は大祿^{ろく}を得。又は命もながか
 るべし。三略に曰。これを守るに城郭^{くはく}をもつてせず。これを胸臆^{けうおく}に藏^{かく}して敵国^{ふく}
 服^{ふく}すと云り。然に世々の人この書を誦^{じゆ}するもの多しといへども。其心を知人まれ
 也と見えたり。誠に胸^{むね}の内に治^{ふく}て。敵国^{ふく}服^{じゆ}する事有^{いかなが}。如何^{けうおく}是^{おさめ}を胸臆^{けうおく}に治^{おさめ}ぬるも
 のぞや。敵国^{ふく}服^{じゆ}するの道。人数^{むね}をもつても是^{くはく}をなさず。城郭^{くはく}をもつても是^{くはく}をなさ
 ず。只一人の胸^{むね}のうちに治^{てうほう}て。なる道なれば。是ほどの重宝^{てうほう}何かあらんや。然
 に末世^{まつ}に至^{きう}て。武将^{きやう}の家に生^{たづさはる}れ。又は弓馬^{きう}の道に携^{がく}人。軍^{ぐん}の法^{はふ}を学^{まな}するとい
 へども。よしなき事には心^{こころ}を尽^{つく}し。たゞ胸臆^{けうおく}におさむる道^{みち}有事^{しよ}を学^{まな}ず。この書^い
 をば異^い国の書^こなりとして。或^{ある}理^りをのみ云^{いひ}て所作^{しよ}なしと云。或^{ある}この書^いは。理^り広^く大^{はう}
 にして時^{とき}に応^{おう}ぜずといひ。曾^{かつ}て此書^{じんよう}の深^{しん}要^{よう}を悟^{さと}ず。故^{ゆゑ}にこの書^いをよく伝^{つた}へずして。
 兵法^{へいほう}知事^{ちじ}あたふべからず。末世^{まつ}の学者^{がく}に向^{むか}て記^{しる}す。いかな^{いかな}がして胸臆^{けうおく}に治^{おさめ}めける
 ぞや。この一句^{いっく}如何^{いかな}々々。兵道^{てんじゆ}之^の伝^{でん}受^{じゆ}有^{あり} ³¹³

Starting with a criticism of “foolish generals” who ignore the governance of ancient sages, the commentator provides a detailed discussion of the conflict between a vassal and a lord, Kiyomori and the Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, in which mistakes of both sides are explained and advice is given on how to reach a reconciliation instead of making the conflict worse. In short, the emperor was wrong to scheme against Kiyomori, but the “evil general” Kiyomori, whose heart/mind was not straight, troubled the lord and many others before they plotted against him, and then he behaved excessively after the plot was discovered.

³¹³ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 5 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 3:1 “The Pardon”).

The point about correct heart/mind is then emphasized as the essence of civil and martial matters. Criticism of military strategy studied by generals in the Latter Age centres on the excessive concern with physical and material things, such as castles and troops, neglecting the heart/mind—that is, cultivation of wisdom and virtue, without which one cannot know military strategy. Quoting from the *Three Strategies*, one of the *Seven Military Classics*, the commentator notes that opponents of this approach argue that this text is foreign, not practical, or inappropriate for the present. As can be seen from the following *Heike karui*'s response, these arguments are repeated in the early eighteenth century almost without any changes. This evidence shows that debates between proponents of conflicting views continued for many decades, at least in the first half of the Edo period.

In response, the *Heike karui* offers the following insightful discussion that criticizes the Edo-period military studies from a different angle:

In my opinion, does “studying the true strategy and seeking wisdom and virtue” mean one has to study the Six [Confucian] Classics? [...] When one considers [the times of] the High Antiquity, [a person] was a minister going in and a general going out, but since the time is different and the world is different, now this theory is also an empty [impractical] theory. Although they say that the Way does not differ in the past and present, now to be able to study the Way of Sages one should be close to scholars and to study the Way of archery and horsemanship one should be close to military houses. Military strategy of this and that school was not found in the past. They arose because of fellows who in recent times earned their living by means of lecturing. Military strategy of the ancient period is recorded in different families, kept in secret and not brought out into the world. Also, many of those records are only made for government officials. Evaluation says: “If a person who should be a great general for a multitude of people is fond of trifling insignificant arts, then his character will naturally become false and crooked, and it will eventually be the basis of disaster that will destroy his family and state.” These are excessive words. It is like giving up eating for fear of choking, and blowing on the [pot's] handle after being burnt by hot soup. Truly, it is said that a big elephant does not wander on a hare's trail, a general has general's duties and his officers and warriors have their own tasks, but one should not look at the character of people of the present comparing them with ancient people. As the world becomes more peaceful, luxury increases and

people treat themselves with refinement, warriors imitate nobles, and monks are very worldly. It is not rare to lose one's family's occupation. However, this (?) is a general's own mistake. When one thinks about its origin, it is because [the general] dislikes shallow wisdom and trifling arts. Confucius said: "How troublesome to eat to satiety all day long without using one's mind! Are there not those who bet and play board games? Doing this is wiser than to be idle."³¹⁴ He admonishes those who spend time in vain. In general, deities and buddhas hate those [beings] between Heaven and Earth, [from] humans all the way to beasts, who waste heavenly blessing [life] in idleness. Mencius says: "Some labour with mind, some labour with strength. Those who labour with mind rule others. Those who labour with strength are ruled by others." This means that the lord and subordinates have their own duties. Those who spend their days in idleness without troubles during the entire life [living in] high and noble families, when there is an unexpected troubling disturbance, they suddenly [have difficulty to] toil their minds. This is also because they abandon [even] shallow wisdom and trifling arts. Why is it so? When people, both high and low, do work and use [their] bodies and minds, having experience of always using their minds, they are not agitated even if they encounter a disturbance. [...] However, if one calls this [trifling arts] a false and crooked way, does it mean that one has to wait for a sage to appear in the world and then study? Also, "wisdom and virtue of the true strategy" is a distorted suggestion of this kind, unfounded empty words. Even if there were something called "the true strategy," it would be far from human affairs. [...] There are appropriate ways to use one's mind that depend on circumstances. One should not make sweeping arguments.

按に真の兵法を学ひ其智徳を 求 るは六経を可 学 と云ふ心歟(...) 上 古の事を
考 るに入ては相 たり出ては將 たりといへども時 異 世異なる故に今は此論も
空論也道に古今かはらずといへども今聖賢の道を可 学 とならば逢掖の士に
可 親 弓馬の道を学ぶならば武家に馴親むべし此流彼流の兵法と云ふ事古昔は無
き事也是近代講習を以て口を餉ふ 輩 より起れり古代の軍法と云ふは家々に記録
して秘して世に不出然もその記録多くは天 官 仕立物のみ也萬人の大將たるべき
人瑣細の小芸を好み給はんは其氣 情 自 ら偽り曲りてはて / \ は家国を可(二)
滅亡(一)の 禍 の基たりと云ふ評 是過分の 辞なり縦は因(二)噎 逆 (一) 廢
食 懲 (二)熱 羹 (一)吹手の類ひなり誠に大象は不遊(二)兎徑(一)と云へば大將
は大將の任有り士卒は士卒の 職 ある事なれど今の人品を全く古人に比してみる
べからず昇 平の世に成り行く程侈奢つよく身をうづ高く持なして武家は公家に

³¹⁴ The Analects, chapter 17.

まね出家は俗氣多し己が家職を取り失ふ事珍しからず^{ヲハ} 併^{シカシナカラ} 是大将一人の^{アヤマリ} 謬^{マヨ} な
 りその本を思ふに小智小芸を嫌ふ故なり子曰^{セウチ ケイ キラ} 飽^{アクマテニクライヒネモス} 食終日無所用心難^{カタイカナ} 矣哉不有
 (二)博^{ハクエキト云モノ} 奕^{スル} 者^{マサレリ} (一)乎為之猶^{ヤムニ} 賢^{クワウイン} (二)乎已(一)と云々是いたづらに光陰を送もの
 を^{イマシメ} 禁^{テンチ} し給ふ凡天地の間人間禽獸に至る迄手を^{キンシウ} 空^{ムナシク} して天禄を^{テンロク} 費^{ツイヤ} すものを神明
 仏陀の憎み給ふ処あり孟子曰^{ダ ニク} 或^{ハシ} 勞心^ヲ 或^{ラウス} 勞力^ヲ 勞心者^{スル} 治人^{ハハサム} 勞力者^{スル} 治^ハ (二)於人^ニ
 (一)と云ふも君子小人各其^{シヨク} 職^{カウキ} 分ある処を云ふ高貴の家一生憂苦なく遊閑に日を
 暮^{クラ} し給ふ御身のたま / \ 事^{ジヘン} 變^{イソガシキ} の間敷事あれば^{ニハカ} 俄^{ラウエキ} に心を勞役し給ふ事有り是も小
 智小芸を捨て給ふ故也如何にといふに人間貴賤によらず身心を^{イカ} 働^{キセン} かしつかふ時
 は常 / \ 心を用るの事有つて事變に逢ても騒動せず(...)然るに是をも^{イツハ} 偽^{マガ} り曲る
 道と云はゞ聖人世に出るを待て可^{マチ} 学^{マナブ} と云ふ心なる歟且真の兵法の智徳と云ふ事
 例^{レイ} の僻案なり元よりなき空言也たとひ真の兵法と云ふ事有るとも人事に遠き事な
 るべし(...) 用^{モチユルコ} 心^ノ の時によつて宜しき法有り一概に論ずべからず^{トキ ヨロ ガイ ロン} 315

The *Heike karui*'s author interprets the vague suggestion to seek wisdom and virtue as advice to study the Confucian classics. The wide concept of ancient sages' wisdom used in the *Heike hyōban* includes Confucian, Shinto, Buddhist and other kinds of teachings, but by the time of the *Heike karui*, the division into separate teachings apparently increased and the *Heike hyōban*'s advice was readily associated with Confucianism. Also, the lamentation about the decline from the ideal past and evaluation of the present by the standards of the sages, often seen in the *Heike hyōban*, are replaced in the *Heike karui* by the calm acceptance of the difference between eras and confidence about the outdated anachronistic nature of past teachings in the present. Thus, for example, in the past, the same person had to acquire the skills of a minister and a general, but in the present a certain division of labour between the civil and martial spheres results in difficulties for a warrior attempting to study the "Way of Sages" without having connections with scholars.

³¹⁵ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 3:10 "The Whirlwind").

It is difficult to determine the veracity of this statement, but at least this opinion is an argument against the position of the *Heike hyōban*.³¹⁶

The criticism of the early-Edo schools of military studies is shared by the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike karui*. According to the latter, different schools are recent innovations fabricated by people who live by lecturing and teaching, presumably hinting at *rōnin* scholars active in the early- and mid-seventeenth century. The *Heike karui* author also makes a distinction between recent schools and ancient ones. Unnamed ancient traditions kept as family secrets are also contrasted with new schools that accept partial publication of their texts. This view of recent published texts undoubtedly falls in line with his intention to discredit the *Heike hyōban*, the main object of his criticism. Although the *Heike karui* comment does not identify clearly the texts allegedly kept as secret ancient strategy, the fact that such texts exist for the use of government officials is affirmed.

³¹⁶ The expectation of the *Heike hyōban*'s commentator that all members of the elite were to be like rulers and generals influences his criticism of characters in the *Heike*. For example, those who lack the qualities of a ruler and general are seen as incompetent, such as Narichika—a court noble who was involved in the Shishi-ga-tani plot against the Heike. The author of the *Heike karui*, however, finds it natural for a noble to lack the skills for proper preparation of a scheme. Nevertheless, Narichika is still criticized for his rash and foolish participation in the plot:

“Evaluation [says]: When planning such an important matter, unless one first gathers in one's house wise and talented people and makes them manage various duties, it is difficult to make use of all the wise schemes. Therefore, rulers of later ages, when you think about an important matter, first of all, do not plan about the opponent, but control your supporters!”

I think that it is an awkward comment. Since New Grand Counselor Lord Narichika was originally a court noble, naturally he lacked any martial preparedness. Not being a house with an especially large fief, in any case, it was difficult for him to gather wise and talented followers. [...] It is strange why he supported the plot without [any] reason. He was a quick-tempered man of small wisdom. [...]

評にかやうの大事を思ひたつ時は先づ其家にも賢才を集て諸役を司どらしめざるときは一
切の智謀用事かたし故に後世の人主大事を思立時は先敵をはからずして味方を治おはし
ませ

按に是不都合の評也新大納言成親卿は本より公卿にておはせしかば武備なき事勿論也
殊に大祿の家にてもなく何と思ふ共賢才の従者は難集り(...)何とぞ子細なくして叛
逆に与力し給ふ事不審也小智短慮の人也(...)

Heike monogatari hyōban karui, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 2:4 “The Lesser Remonstrance”).

The *Heike hyōban* considers military studies schools a necessary part of warrior education, but insists that this narrow component has to be supplemented by the wider pursuit of wisdom and virtue in order to avoid disasters. In the second half of the above passage, the *Heike karui* argues, however, that idleness is the major threat for elites living in peace and luxury. The argument is that even if recent military studies are shallow wisdom and trifling arts, studying them is still better than being idle. This lenient attitude is justified by the society's shift toward peace and refinement, and in this situation any intellectual activity is preferred to idleness. The danger of luxury and carefree weakness, described as "warriors imitat[ing] nobles," is in the inability to cope with unexpected troubles; and therefore, studying current military studies, no matter how shallow they may be, is considered a way to practice one's mind, keeping it ready for potential trouble. This view of military studies as a means to keep warriors from sliding into idleness and as a way to occupy their minds with issues of leadership and strategy, was definitely a major reason why *gunsho* texts and military studies schools remained in demand throughout the Edo period. The above comments show the *Heike hyōban*'s sense of urgency, uncompromising strictness, and insistence on the highest universal and timeless standards, in contrast with the *Heike karui*'s calm recommendation of a minimally acceptable option and flexible taking into account of specific contextual limitations.

Another difference in worldview between the two commentaries is the perception of the Latter Age. The author of the *Heike karui* in many cases dismisses pessimistic lamentations and disenchantment with the present, as typically expressed in *Heike hyōban*'s comments. He does not share this belief in the Latter Age of continuous decline, and writes:

"People of this land for years are ignorant of the Way, when they reach the Latter Age, they will more and more abandon the Great Way."

I think these words [from the *Heike hyōban*] are dubious. These are words that are distant from the heart of a sage and a virtuous person. Mencius says: "The Way is like a

wide road.” If so, the Way is not to be sought far. Saying that people of this land will be far from the Way when they reach the Latter Age, is perhaps a personal statement: leaving a prophetic forecast intending to feel pity for the world. So, it has to be an expression of feelings of being furious about the world. Since this commentator’s personal capacity is extremely petty, [this statement] is not worthy of criticism.

ホンテウ ニンゲンネン ミチ マツダイ イヨ / \ ダイドウスタ
 本朝の人間年 / \ 道に暮らし末代に至らは 弥 大道廢るへし
 コノゴ フ シン セイケンクン シ コハロ トヲ ゴ モウシノイワクソレミチハ ダイロ
 按に此語不審なり聖賢君子の 心 に遠き語なり孟子曰 夫道 也者 若 (二)
 ノゴト ク シカ トヲ モトム モノ
 大路(一)爾りと然らば道は遠く 求 る物に非らず本朝人の末代に至るほど道にう
 センモン フ ゴ ノコ ヨ アハレ ト ワタクシ サデ イキドロ
 ときと云ふ事識文符語を遺して世の 憐 みを取らんとする 私 歟扱は世を 憤 る
 シュツクハイ リヤウハナハダ ヒ ロウ ヒ ハン
 述 懷 なるべし此評者に人の 量 甚 鄙陋なれば批判するにたらず³¹⁷

The *Heike karui* commentator finds the concept of hopeless decline unacceptable, and replaces it with an optimistic belief that the way of wisdom and virtue can be attained in any era. He even insults the author of the comment as “petty” and “furious.”³¹⁸ The *Heike hyōban*’s position of raising awareness about crisis and the need for special effort to overcome it is taken as an expression of personal disillusionment in society. In general, texts with social criticism and political advice like the *Heike hyōban* are not written by those who are content or indifferent about society. This kind of pessimism and discontent was in fact quite commonly expressed in the early Edo period, and it is noticeable not only in the *Heike hyōban*, but also in texts by scholars of a *rōnin* background such as Kumazawa Banzan, and other critical works produced in salons of daimyo lords. Discontent and concern with the complicated current situation fueled debates and the production of texts on leadership and ethics in the mid-seventeenth century. An atmosphere of anxiety, less evident in the mid-Edo period, reappeared in the first half of the

³¹⁷ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 “The Rokuhara Boys”).

³¹⁸ As follows from the *Heike karui* preface, discussed in Chapter 6, the author of the *Heike karui* thought that the *Heike hyōban* was a compilation of evaluative comments produced by a group of people. This insulting remark is directed at one of the commentators, and not the entire work.

nineteenth century, when discussions about the state and society reached another peak, resulting in the production of treatises and essays with criticism, advice, and suggestions on policy.³¹⁹

The above discussion shows that the content and didactic message of evaluative commentaries was affected by the background, worldview, and beliefs of the commentators. This property makes such commentaries a valuable source for understanding the reception of texts in a specific time period and by a definite group of readers. In addition to discussing the original text, the two commentaries on the *Heike* expound their views on a variety of related topics, such as the military studies of the Edo period. Although they both criticize Edo-period military studies, the *Heike hyōban* emphasizes that wisdom, virtue, correct heart/mind, and moderation have to supplement military studies that are nevertheless criticized in their early-Edo form for neglecting wisdom and virtue, focusing on material things, and misreading military classics. The *Heike karui* claims that strategy, defined as “measures appropriate to the occasion,” is not learned at all, and criticizes new military studies schools as a recent creation of lecturers unrelated to ancient treatises kept as family secrets. The *Heike karui* still acknowledges the value of military studies as a way to train the minds of warrior-officials and overcome their idleness. Unlike the eclectic and universal thinking of the *Heike hyōban*, the author of the *Heike karui* emphasizes the differences and incompatibility between ancient and present practices, between scholars and warriors, between Confucian and other teachings, and between Japan and other states. It is probable that the difference between them is due both to the half-century gap and to the mismatch in convictions: the *Heike hyōban* is based on the eclectic mix of universal teachings of ancient sages, especially Confucian texts and military classics; whereas the *Heike karui* is more

³¹⁹ See, for example, Harry D. Harootunian, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 168-258.

Conrad D. Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995). See especially “Part Five: The Erosion of Stability, 1790-1850,” Chapters 18 and 19.

particular, concerned with specific contexts, and likely influenced by ideas of National Learning. In the following section, I consider additional excerpts from the *Heike hyōban* commentary that further illustrate its ideas on leadership and warrior qualities.

5.3 Additional Passages from the *Heike hyōban* Related to Governance and Warriors

The *Heike* has taken shape as a compilation or a patchwork of diverse texts that give a panoramic view of Genpei events. This property makes it possible to create an encyclopedic commentary on a wide range of topics based on the *Heike*'s content. The *Heike hyōban*, however, tends to focus mostly on topics related to statecraft, strategy, and ethics. Selected examples given below illustrate some of the typical themes running through the commentary, and confirm that it functions as a collection of didactic lectures for rulers and warrior-officials.

5.3.1 Lord and Subjects

The importance of relations between the lord and his subordinates is one of the main recurring themes in the commentary. The troubles that take place under the rule of the retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa and the Heike, such as the burning of the Kiyomizudera temple in the capital, are assessed as follows:

Evaluation says: [...] On top, there is a lord who maintains great virtue. Below, there are subjects who strive to be loyal and faithful. This is similar to [the relation between] heaven and earth. At this time, however, there is a lord on top, but he has no benevolence. There are subjects below, but they do not strive to be loyal. Therefore, evil deeds of those below happen daily. All the people are troubled and suffer. Moreover, foolish monks and others raise a private strife. Since the lord of the time is not correct, and the Imperial Law does not have authority, they raise this trouble. [...]

評曰 (...) 上に君有て大徳を守り。下に臣あつて忠義をつくす。是 即 天地に
ひとし。然にこの時に 当 て。上に君有といへとも仁徳なく。下に臣有といへ

ども忠義をつくさず。故に其下の悪事日々にかさなり。万民^{ばんみんくるしみ} 苦いためり。この上に愚法師等。私^{わたくし}の乱^{らん}を起す。是。時の君正^{とき きみたゞ}しからずして。王法の威^いなきがゆへに。この乱をおこしたるもの也。 (...) ³²⁰

The source of troubles and disorder is found in the ruler who lacks virtue, benevolence, and authority. Rulers are thus reminded about the cause-and-effect relationship between their qualities and attitudes, and the deeds of retainers and subjects. On the one hand, the ruler is not considered virtuous and benevolent by default, and his faults are reflected in troubles of his subjects; and on the other, the ruler is advised to maintain authority and virtue as a way of preventing troubles. Under a good ruler, the “foolish monks” would not be able to raise large-scale trouble that affects the state. This mostly Confucian view also forms the background of the *Heike* itself, but in the commentary it is stated more emphatically as a general rule.

The case of Heike generals is discussed as follows with generalizations made about the principles and aims that a ruler should have:

[...] However, various Heike generals, although appointed as generals of the time, spent all the days in ease and forgot about dangers. Relying on today’s power they slighted all the people in the state. Even if it seems that various people respect me today, when they do not feel sincere obligation in their hearts/minds, they merely show outward respect and certainly slight [me] in their hearts/minds. Thus, without knowing it, I lose power over the state to other people, high and low naturally slight [me], exchange looks and point with fingers criticizing [me], but I do not know about it in advance. Thus, in this case, being unable to control the monks and losing martial authority, is it not a shame for Rokuhara?³²¹ In general, as for the way of using warriors, without controlling the source, one cannot succeed in controlling the consequences. However, as for controlling the source, when one does not know the origin of that way, even when one thinks to pacify the state, on the contrary, one troubles the state, and this will become the seed of disaster. Thus, rulers of the later age, take this matter as an example, admonish yourselves, and act with great virtue! Being a master of the state and not leaving the reputation of a sage ruler for all ages to come, is not the real purpose of ruling. There are cases of foolish generals

³²⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:9 “The Burning of Kiyomizudera”).

³²¹ The headquarters of the Heike in the Heian capital.

also ruling for a while. How can one think of this as being one's greatest ambition? When one has sage and wise teachings in one's heart/mind, the manifestation of that rule will prosper while the heaven and earth exist. Carefully discuss this matter!

Transmission says: They say that this clash over the name plaques³²² is a scheme of the First Retired Emperor [Go-Shirakawa] who perceived Heike's power [and planned] to destroy Kiyomori. Monk Saikō wrote about it in a daily record of [his] circulating letter. I say: Looking forward to disorder in the state by this scheme is a low inferior plan. It disregards propriety of the state and raises trouble in the world. How can this be the [proper] goal of a scheme? Even in such a time one only controls oneself, accumulates own virtue, appears foolish and clarifies the inside,³²³ fixes harmony of people, does not crave gain, lets arrogant ones be more and more extravagant without being harmed by that. When one's virtue is increased daily, when the time comes, even without fighting one will rule the state. Therefore, this plan [of Go-Shirakawa] should be regarded as an inferior scheme.

(...) 然に平氏の諸将。時の武將に備りながら明暮安きにのみみて危を忘れ。
をのれが今日の威勢を頼として。天下の万人をかるんず。たとひ諸人今日我を
敬に似たりと云とも。心中より忝恩徳なき時は。外にのみ敬て。心中にはか
ろんずべし。故にしらずして。天下の権柄を人にうばはれ。上下自然と思あなど
り。目をひき指をさしてそしるといへども。われ曾是をしらず。故にこのたび
の衆徒をも制しかねて。武威をうしなふ事。是六波羅の恥にあらずや。凡兵を
もちゆるの道其本を治ずして。すゑを制する事かなふべからず。されども。本
を制すると云事。是又其道の源なるべき道をしらざれば世を治とおもふと云
共却て世を苦めて。又禍のたねとなるべし。この故に後の世の人主。かゝる
処をかゞみとして。其身をいましめ。大徳を行ひおはしませ。一天下のあるじな
どならせ給ふうへにては。世々末代に至るまで。聖君の名をのこし給はざる事は。
是代をしり給ふ本意にはあらず。愚将もしばらくは世をしるためし有。いかんぞ

³²² According to the *Heike*, in 1165 the Enryakuji and the Kōfukuji monks quarreled about the order in which the plaques of each temple should be placed at the imperial funeral. The Kōfukuji monks were angry that their plaque was below that of the Enryakuji temple, and they removed it. The Enryakuji monks retaliated by burning Kiyomizudera temple, affiliated with Kōfukuji.

³²³ A line from the *Notes of a Baldheaded Fool* (*Gutokushō* 愚禿鈔, ca. 1255 CE) by the Japanese Buddhist monk Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263 CE) says: "As for the faith of the sage, inside he is wise, but appears foolish." *kenja no shin wa uchi wa ken ni shite hoka wa gu nari* 賢者の信は内は賢にして外は愚なり.

是のみを本^{くはい}懷^{せいけん}とは思ふべけんや。聖賢の法を心となし給ふ時は其代のしるし天
 地の有間^{ろん}は。はんじやう有べし。つゝしんで此事を論じおはしませ
 てんに^{ろん}伝^{いけん}曰^{さつ}。この額^{もり}うち論^{たい}の事は。平家の威権^ちを察^{はかりこと}しみて。清盛退治有べきが為に。
 一院の謀^{さいくはう}也と云り。西^{ぶみ}光法師がめぐらし文の日記にしるせり
 わたくし^{ろん}私^{はかりこと}曰^{さく}。世の乱^{さく}をうかがふ事。かゝる^{さく}警^{さく}をもつてするは。下策の下たり。天
 下の礼^{れい}をそむき。世に僻事^{ひが}をおこさしむ。いかんぞ権謀^{けんぼう}の本意^いたるべけんや。か
 くのごとくの時も。たゞその身をおさめて。身の徳^{とく}をつもり。外愚^{ほかぐ}にして。内^{うち}
 あきらかになし諸^{しよ}人の和^{くわ}をつくろふて利^りをむさばらず。僞^{おごる}ものは益々^{ます}奢^{おごら}しめて。
 我是^{かい}に害^{がい}せられず。日々に其徳^{とく}をあつくする時は。時至^{たゝかは}て戦^{せん}ずとも。世をしる
 べし。故にこの計謀^{けい}。下策となすべき物也³²⁴

The case of the Heike is used to illustrate the danger of relying on one's current position of power and neglecting potential risks. The Heike's wrong attitude toward state matters slowly eroded their authority, and they were unable to foresee or prevent the trouble. The rulers are admonished to avoid the shameful situation of the Heike caused by their neglect of a ruler's duties, and to instead improve themselves in order to become known as sage rulers.

The “transmission” comment for this section suggests the possibility that the conflict between two temples was a scheme of Go-Shirakawa to get rid of Kiyomori. This legend or rumour, likely based on a fictional source, is plausible and allows the commentator to discuss a possible scheming technique. Even if the story has no historical basis, it serves a didactic purpose and raises awareness about schemes between lords and subordinates that have to be taken into account. The “transmission” comment is further evaluated in the appended note. The scheme ascribed to the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa is viewed negatively as an “inferior plan” that troubles the state. For the commentator, not all schemes are equally good; that is, the ends do

³²⁴ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:9 “The Burning of Kiyomizudera”).

not justify the means. Instead, a better course of action is proposed for the retired emperor, who by accumulating virtue would eventually rule the state “without fighting.” The point is that those who avoid conflict increase their virtue and prevail over those who compete in power and arrogance and thus perish. While the concept of “virtue” may sound innocuous or naïve, it has a pragmatic aspect that encompasses reputation, authority, and a calm attitude which brings support and respect. This advice given to Go-Shirakawa, a person already with considerable power, implies that his stance of non-involvement in petty conflicts would provide him with trust and support from subordinates and others as they turned away from the Heike. Apparently, this idea is proposed as a superior plan without negative consequences.

The theme of relations between a lord and his subordinates is of paramount importance in the *Heike hyōban* commentary. The relationship is reciprocal, but the lord or ruler bears the largest part of the responsibility for harmony in the state. The ruler is considered the source of positive or negative influence that affects all his subordinates and people in the state. In the above example, both the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa and the Heike are criticized for the troubles occurring in the state. Schemes, such as Go-Shirakawa’s plot against Kiyomori, are also discussed as a part of lord-vassal relations, and their misuse by unwise rulers leads to negative consequences for all.

5.3.2 Conspiracies and Plots

The theme of plots occupies an important place in the commentary, and the Shishi-no-tani plot against the Heike—one of the highlights of the first chapters of the *Heike*—provides material for a detailed discussion and cautionary advice about conspiracies in general. As described in the *Heike*, in 1177 during a banquet headed by the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa,

his close associates the courtier Narichika, abbot Shunkan, and monk Saikō demonstrate—in a ludic fashion involving overthrown bottles and cut bottlenecks³²⁵—their intention to remove the Heike. This farcical extravagant behaviour simplifies the task of commentators who note the absurdity of the situation:

Evaluation says: All of this is certainly foolish behaviour. Why? How can a person thinking of an important matter of a state say such mischievous things? On no account should one utter it aloud. Is it not dangerous if somebody hears and the plot leaks out? Although it is a matter that cannot succeed without [people] speaking, expressing it directly is absurd. [...]

Plots have three levels: top, middle, and low. A top plot, even if it employs a low plot, is considered a top plot because it corresponds to the occasion. A low plot, even though it resembles a top plot, is a low plot when it does not correspond to the occasion. However, there are three [types of] ingenious plans depending on top, middle, and low ingenuity. When one knows this principle, [one understands that] this Shishi-no-tani plot should not be like this. Since it is a gathering of foolish people, they form an inopportune plot and eventually suffer from a disaster. In general, a plot [that is delayed] for a long time is not considered good. The one that is realized soon should be seen as good. When it is delayed, it is certainly likely to be leaked out. Thus, Tai Gong said: “In a plan one values its speed.” And also: “It is best for a secret plan to proceed swiftly.” So, people of the later ages, carefully perceive that there are three grades of plots. There is an additional “Transmission.”

評曰。是いつれも愚案ぐあんのふるまひたるべし。如何いかんとなれば。天下の大事じをおもひ
たつ身の。いかんぞかやうのたはふれごとを云べけんや。仮初かりそめにも言舌ごんぜつに出すべ
からず。いかなる者かきゝつけて。大事の謀はかりこと漏もべき事危からずや。云ずして
かなはざる事なりとも。直じきにその事をあらはしては沙汰さたせざるもの也。(…)
訾はかりことと云に上中下の三段有。上の謀はかりことと云は。たとひ下の策はかりことを用もちるとも。
其時に応おうずるが故に。上の謀はかりこととす。下の策は。たとひ上の策にに似たりと云共。
其時に応おうぜざる時は。是下の策也。されども。上智。中智。下智。の三つによつ
て。智謀三つあり。この理りを知時は。今この鹿谷の訾はかりことも。かくは有べからず。
いづれも愚者ぐしやのよりあひなるによつて。時至らぬ謀叛むほんを企くはて。終其身の禍ついにを
受うけたり。凡策と云ものは。久敷およそをよしとせず。速すみやかに用る事をよしとすべし。

³²⁵ The pun involved the similarity between the word “liquor container” *heiji* 瓶子 and the Heike (*Heishi* 平氏).

其事のび / \ なれば。必もれやすきもの也。故に太公曰。^{はかりこと} 謀 はひそかなる事をたつとしとするとも云り。又曰陰謀^{いんぼう}は進速^{しんそく}なるにしかずとも云り。故に後世^{こうせい}の人。つゝしんで三つの智謀^{ちぼう}の位有事をさとりに給へ。伝附有³²⁶

The commentator notes the need for secrecy, sets appropriateness to the occasion as the main criterion for success, and then describes the Shishi-no-tani schemers as fully incompetent fools.³²⁷ The following “transmission” comment is attached, outlining the basics of the scheming in digest form:

The volume on military plans transmitted by the Tada family says: Before raising warriors and using the army, there are five schemes (*hakarigoto* 策) one should do. One, the heart of a foolish person is easily swayed by greed. Therefore, one should tilt him through gold, silver, and treasures. Two, a wise person has a heart that seeks fame. So, show him esteem and form a plot on him in accordance with propriety. Do not use treasures as a bribe. One should only deepen his ambition and reward him lightly. Three, many people are easily controlled by what pleases them. Thus, when one plans according to that, he [opponent] certainly grows extravagant. Therefore, there will be various things that he likes to use. By all means, go along with him, increase that thing. He certainly will be easily confused. Four, perceive the heart/mind of his family retainers. In accordance with their disposition, incline them [to own side]. Certainly, when there is

³²⁶ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:12 “Shishi-no-tani”).

³²⁷ In the *Heike*, the plot is also briefly criticized as absurd and ill-conceived. The commentary *Heike monogatari shō* criticizes as follows:

The *Illustrated Classic* (*Zukyō* 図経) says: The decision of the Retired Emperor to destroy the Heike is entirely the work of an evil spirit. Also, this is because he had lowly servants as his retainers. Destroying such high-positioned people [as the Heike] should be deliberated well. So, how was he going to destroy this clan by charging people like imperial palace guards serving the nobles, or Mount Hiei monks to do it? [...] Although there are cases when a force of one or two thousand warriors beats a force of ten thousand, but this is due to one’s best fate or a general’s stratagem. Why do people like Lord Narichika and others, who are not men of military arts and bravery, devise such a serious matter? In addition, they are captured, barely survive in exile and so on. Their planning a revolt with a rejoicing mind cannot even be called impetuous or negligent. When devising a plot, it is vital to plan right before executing the plot.

図経云 法皇平家をほろぼさんと思召たゝせ給ふ事ひとへに天魔の所為なり又は賤き下臈どもを近習せさせ給ふによつてなりかやうなる大身の者を討せらるゝ事は能く思惟あるべき事なるに何ぞ公家被官北面の族或は山法師などに仰付けられいかんとして此一門をほろぼされんや [...] 一万騎の勢に一二千の勢を以て勝事も戦のならひなれどもそれは天命の第一又は將の謀次第なり何ぞ武にも勇にもあらぬ成親卿などのかゝる大事を思ひたち剩縄手にかゝり漸く命をつぎ流罪などにおこなはれ是をよろこびなどしける心にて謀反など思ひたゝるゝ事血氣とも不覺とも云かたしそれ大事を思ひ立にはそれまでと期をさたむる事肝要也

Heike monogatari shō, 31.

disloyalty, it is hard to control that house. Therefore, one should make retainers compete for power. When that happens, there are many opportunities for schemes. Five, there are people who indulge in lust, people who enjoy entertainments, and people who seek valuables. These three kinds are common heavy illnesses among people. Thus, disturb their hearts/minds according to what they enjoy. In this matter, however, keep own heart clear, without confusion, and control that house, make neighbouring states follow and submit. Remove relations of an enemy, hinder his friendships, and divide enemies. When the time comes, quickly raise your army, so it says.³²⁸ This is truly an inferior way of schemes, but when one has at least such an understanding, would one think that the plan of these people [Shishi-no-tani schemers] will give [even] a small benefit? Nevertheless, if one does not know about Heaven's anger and anger of deities, it is hard to make use of a conspiracy. Thus, a transmission about important [state] matter should be here. It is difficult to write more fully.

ただのかでんくんけい 多田家伝軍計の巻に曰。それ 夫兵をあげ 軍 を用る事。はかりこと 策 をさきにすべき事五つ。
 一には愚者は利欲に心かたふきやすし。故に金銀財宝にて是をかたふくべき事。
 二には賢者は其名を 求 る心有。故にかれをたつとひ。礼義にしたがつて是をは
 かれ。まいないに宝をもちゆる事なかれ。只其志をふかくして。おくるに軽き物
 をもつてすべし。三には人多はよろこふことにつきしたがひ安し。故にその事に
 したがつてはかる時は。かれかならず 侈 を 生 ずるもの也。このゆへに種々の事
 を好み用る事有べし。いかにも彼にしたがつて。其事を長ぜしめよ。かれ必まど
 ひ安し。四には其家の臣下の心をさとれ。其気 情 に応じてこれをかたふけよ。
 必二心ある時は。其家 治 りがたし。このゆへに臣と臣との威勢をあらそはしむ
 べし。若然ときは。 謀 の 便 多し。五には色にふけるものあり。遊興を 好 も
 の有。財器をもとむる者有。この三種人間に多き重病也。故にその好 所 にした
 がつて。其心をさまたげよ。され共この段。をのれが心 明 にして。まどひなく。
 その家を 治。近国をしたがへきふくせしめ。敵には 交 なくしてそのむつびを
 妨。敵と敵との間を 隔。時至るときには 速 に兵をあげよと云り。是 誠 に権
 謀の小道なれども責てかやうの心得有時は。この人々の 警。少は利あらんも

³²⁸ A brief free retelling based on twelve methods explained in the “Civil offensive” section of the *Six Secret Teachings*. See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 56-57.

のか。しかれども天いかり神いかる事をしらずんば。謀^む叛と云事用がたし。故に
大事^{てんじゆ}の伝受^{こゝ}。爰^{さら}に有^{たん}べし。更に筆端^{しるす}に記^{つくし}に尽^しがたし³²⁹

As noted in the *Heike karui*, this is a Japanese summary of a section from the *Six Secret Teachings*, presented as a secret text of the Tada family.³³⁰ For anyone having even this minimal knowledge, the Shishi-no-tani scheme is obviously incorrect, with no chances of success. At the end of the passage, the commentator attempts to put a check on the use of schemes and revolts. He warns that the success of a plot depends not only on ingenious techniques, but on its just nature. The legitimacy of a plot is said to depend on the will of Heaven and on deities whose anger defines its justice. The need for Heaven's approval is meant to restrain schemers who would raise trouble for private reasons, or against good rulers. The success of a plot allegedly depends on the correct understanding of Heaven's attitude, and if one falsely claims to have the support of Heaven and deities, the result will be a failure. The sensitive nature of the topic makes the commentator stop abruptly apparently in order to avoid revealing information to untrustworthy people who might misuse it to harm society. Consistent with transmission practices, such techniques are revealed in person to disciples of an advanced level who are known well to the master. Thus, in addition to careful attention to the contents permissible in a published work, the *Heike hyōban* is, or pretends to be, an introductory text for entry-level

³²⁹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 2 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:12 “Shishi-no-tani”).

³³⁰ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:5 “One Man's Glory”) includes the following note:

“The Record transmitted in the Tada family”

I think that this content is attributed to [a work with a different] title. Many ancient records are texts by government officials. This scheme, however, is a Japanese explanation of twelve methods taken from the “Civil offensive” section of the *Six Secret Teachings*.

タダカデンキ イツセツナ カ コキ テンクワン ショ シカ コノハカリヲ リクトウブン
多田家伝記 按此一説名を借りたるもの也古記は多く天官の書なり然るに此謀は六韜文
ハツヂフニセツ ホウ トツ フゲ
伐十二節の法を取て和解したる物也

disciples who are made aware of the existence of higher-level teachings to be sought from the teacher.

5.3.3 Knowing People

The theme of knowing people repeatedly appears in discussions of all kinds of topics involving interpersonal relations and human interaction. Seen as the basic quality of a successful ruler, its scope ranges from knowing one's family members and close retainers, to knowing all the people in the state. An episode in the *Heike* in which Shigemori assembles warriors as a way to caution his father Kiyomori against conflicting with the throne is used as an illustration in the following clear formulation of the principle:

Evaluation says: In general, ruling the state is, first, in correcting oneself, and next, in knowing other people. When one knows others well, one appoints them to posts according to their individual talents and abilities, and makes them manage administration. So, the way of governance is correct and the state is tranquil. When one does not know people, posts do not match people. When posts do not match, the governance is incorrect. The *Book [of Han]* says: "There is no higher virtue of the emperor than knowing people. When he knows people, then all the officials hold [proper] posts, and works of Heaven are not distant."³³¹ This Lord Lay Monk [Kiyomori], however, does not know even his own son. Needless to say that it is foolish that he thinks that [Shigemori] means to send a force against his father [Kiyomori]. Thus, it can be known that Kiyomori's rule is in confusion. [...]

評曰凡天下国家を治るものは。先己^{をのれ たゞ}を正して。次に人をしるに有。よく人を知
時は。それ / \ の才能^{おう}に^{しよく さづけ}応じて。其官職^{まつりごと}を^{つかさ}授。世の政^{まつりごと}を^{つかさ}司どらしむ。故に
政道^{せい}たゞ^{たいらか}しうして。天下平也。人をしらざる時は。官職^{くはん}人におうぜず。くは
んしよく^{おう}応ぜざる時は。政^{まつりごと}正しからず。書曰帝王^{てい}の徳は人を知より大きな
はなし。人を知^{ときんは}則^{りやうにん}百僚^{こう}任職^{こう}天工もはからずと云り。然にこの入道殿。わが子

³³¹ This is a quote from the *Book of Han* (*Hanshu* 漢書), Biographies of Xue Xuan and Zhu Bo (*Xuexuan Zhubo zhuan* 薛宣朱博傳): 帝王之德莫大於知人, 知人則百僚任職, 天工不曠。

をさへ知給はずして。親に討手^{うっ}などもやむけんずらんなど思はれける事。愚^ぐと云に足らず。故に清盛の政みだりがはしきにて知べし。 (...) ³³²

A ruler's activities inevitably involve many kinds of interactions with people such as family members, officials, priests, generals, and subjects. Unless one is perspicacious, attentive, and careful, it is easy to misjudge people, to offend someone, and to follow the wrong advice.

Premodern East Asian and Japanese historical and literary works contain numerous examples of minor offences, family strife, and human emotions causing largescale trouble, affecting states and societies. Didactic texts for rulers, family heads, or village headmen offer much advice on the ethics and psychology that were an integral part of statecraft and leadership.

5.3.4 True and False Bravery of Warriors

One of the common approaches of the *Heike hyōban* commentary is to contrast true teaching or attitude with its false or corrupt counterpart. Rulers, generals, magistrates, warriors, or monks are not given any default evaluation as a group, but each individual person is assessed by specific actions. The following comment teaches about bravery and defines its true and false kinds. Importantly, warriors are not viewed as inherently brave, and they have to strive not to fall into false bravery. The following passage about the cowardly behaviour of the courtier Narichika lays out views on bravery in general, and also criticizes the superficial brave appearance of warriors of the Latter Age, that is, warriors of the Genpei period and contemporary early-Edo ones, too. Narichika, who in the *Heike* appears as a pitiable courtier and a victim of Kiyomori's harshness, is discussed as a negative example of shameful cowardice, intended as a warning for warriors.

³³² *Heike hyōban*, vol. 4 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 2:7 “The Signal Fires”).

Evaluation says: [...] Those who are warriors should always keep their loyalty correct and practice true bravery. As for the ambition of warriors, it is usual for anyone in safety to think “I will not behave cowardly,” but it seems that everyone who lacks true bravery, when trouble comes, changes the usual intention and stains his name. Because one does not know the true meaning of warrior families, one commonly aspires like a narrow-minded person. Because one only covets fame and fortune, and thinks about fulfilling desires, one’s heart/mind is set on putting up false appearances on the outside. Thus, it is merely bravery of perfunctory vigour, and not that which occurs from righteousness. So, when a warrior knows the Way of righteousness well, surely bravery will be found naturally inside him. People of the Latter Age, however, always open their eyes wide with anger, spread out their elbows, speak rudely, and there are people who think that being sulky means to like bravery. There are also some who slight buddhas and deities, turn to current customs, dress themselves up with crests, colours, and swords, and embellish their bravery by the style of shaved hair and beard. Such people are brave on the outside and certainly cowardly inside. Then, it is a principle of heaven and earth that those who are “yin” [negative] on the outside are certainly “yang” [positive] inside. Those who are “yang” inside are certainly “yin” on the outside. Thus, people who only display bravery on the outside are likely cowardly inside. Nevertheless, do not look down without fear judging by a person’s appearance. I merely tell about the usual state of heaven and earth in order to let you know the true meaning of bravery. Those who are not ignorant of [the Way of] benevolence, justice, propriety, and wisdom certainly have bravery depending on the degree of following that Way. Lord Narichika, however, until this time never showed signs of being brave. How can such a person succeed in a great matter of state? People of the Latter Age, understand this!

評曰(…)武士たる者は。平生其忠を正しくして。実^{まこと}の勇を習べきもの也。されば武の志。いかなる者も。事なき時は臆病^{おく}を^{はたらか}しと思事^{おもふこと}は。よのつねの人心なれども。信実^{じつ}の勇なきが故に。時に逢ては。みな常の志変じて。其名^{なを}穢^{けが}れ事有とみえたり。是併武門の本意をしらざるが故に。其志常に小人^{いたすらめい}にして。一向名利をむさぼり。欲^{よく}めでん事を思ふが故に。外に偽^{いつはり}かざる心有。故に血氣一へんの勇のみにして。義よりおこる勇にあらず。故に武たる者は。義の道をよくする時は。勇は自然^じと其内にそなはるも有べし。然るに末世の人。常に眼^{つね}をいからかしめ。臂^{ひぢ}をはり。言葉ふつゝかにして。すね／＼しきを。勇を好^{このむ}と思ふ人有。或は又仏神を蔑^{ないかしろ}になし。当世の風俗^{ぞく}にかへり。衣類^{いるい}の紋^{もん}。色。又は太刀かたなのかつかうをこしらへ。髪髭^{かみひげ}のそりやうをもつて。其身の勇をかざる人有。かやうの者は。外のみ勇にして内必臆病^{おく}也。されば天地の理^{ほかいん}。外陰なる者は。内か

ならず陽也。内陽なるものは。外必陰也。故に外 専^{もつはら} 勇をかざる人。多分内臆病^{おく}なるもの也。さあればとて。又人の形によりて恐るゝ事なく。謾^{あなどる} 事なかれ。たゞ是天地の常をのみ云て。勇の本意^いをしらしめんが為也。仁^{じん}。義。礼。智にくらからさるもの。其道^{かうはく}の厚薄にしたがつて。勇義そなはり有べし。然に成親卿。この時に至まで。曾勇成気色あらはれず。かゝる人にて。いかんぞ天下の大事を遂^{とげ}給ふべきや。末世の人々は是^{れう}を了^{おはしませ}見御座³³³

The distinction is made between the true bravery rooted in righteousness, benevolence, and justice; and the bravery of the Latter Age, which is based on the greed and false appearance that in fact cover up internal cowardice. The given description of behaviour that is mistaken for bravery undoubtedly contains sharp criticism of the manners of contemporary Edo-period warriors. Thus, the commentator expresses dissatisfaction with anger, bitterness, and rudeness taken as signs of bravery, and also criticizes the efforts of some warriors to demonstrate their bravery by displaying contempt toward religion, or by following the latest fashions in dress and hairstyle. The didactic message is to be brave and not merely to have a brave appearance. One who lacks true internal bravery risks ending up acting cowardly and shamefully in times of trouble, and the case of Narichika in the *Heike* is used to confirm this point.³³⁴

³³³ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 4 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 2:8 “The Exile of Narichika”).

³³⁴ The commentary *Heike monogatari shō* states as follows:

The *Illustrated Classic* says: He [Narichika] looks like a person of extreme cowardice. Among ten people, one is impetuously courageous unaware of life and death. Also, one person is exceedingly cowardly. And among them are also ones who possess wisdom, benevolence, and courage. It is most important to understand propriety and reason. Knowing the time when one should die, and laying down one’s hundred-year-long life is [in accordance with] propriety. Knowing one’s obligations, showing compassion to all beings, respecting what should be respected, not bringing manners into disorder is benevolent. When one knows this, one will definitely have courage. It should be understood that when a top person is crooked, the multitude of people below has wickedness, like a shade following a form. Since the rule of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa is not a benevolent rule, many people are executed and exiled. Truly, this should perhaps be a caution for both great and humble families of later ages.

図経云 [...] 臆病至極の人と見えたり人たるものは十人の内一人は死生しらずの血気の勇者もあるものなり又一人はきはめて大臆病なるものなり又其中に智仁勇をかねたるもありたゞ儀と理と

5.3.5 True and False Ambitions of Warriors

There has been a tendency in scholarship to accept that medieval and early modern warriors felt culturally inferior to court nobility and strived to emulate them as much as possible.³³⁵ It is interesting that in didactic *gunsho* treatises, including the *Heike hyōban*, we find evidence suggesting that a common and widespread anxiety among warriors was, in fact, the fear of becoming like nobles or merchants and losing their own warrior identity and abilities; especially in the context of luxury, lack of troubles, and the accessibility of various amusements. The failure of the Heike was usually discussed precisely from this point of view, and served as a convenient and convincing illustration of weakness, negligence, and arrogance that should be avoided by later warrior families.³³⁶ The *Heike* also provided vivid examples of nobles’

をわきたる事第一なり死すべき時をしりて百年の命をすつるは儀なり恩を知り萬にあはれひをたれうやまふべきをうやまひ礼儀をみださざるは仁也是をしれば必勇あり上人曲りあれば下万民邪ありかたちにしたがふかげのごとしと心得べきにや後白河の法皇御政事仁教 [政?] にあらざるゆへに諸人おほくの輩死罪流罪にあへるなり誠に大家小家によらず後世のいましめとせん歟

Heike monogatari shō, 54.

³³⁵ Many warrior lords invited court scholars and artists, read courtly literature, and collected texts and works of art. The following two examples describe the situation in the late fifteenth century, after the Ōnin war. Haruo Shirane writes that, “For warrior leaders, the *Genji* represented a connection to court culture that they desired but did not inherit.”

Haruo Shirane, “*The Tale of Genji* and the Dynamics of Cultural Production: Canonization and Popularization,” in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 14.

Also, Jamie Newhard states that:

[...] high-ranking warriors who, seeking to elevate and legitimize themselves through association with the courtly literary tradition, began, much as the Ashikaga shoguns had done, to serve as patrons to scholars, poets, and artists, and to amass libraries.

Jamie L. Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man: A History of Scholarship on Tales of Ise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 64.

Although many individual warrior lords in specific time periods wished to emulate court nobles, we should be careful not to generalize this trend to all warriors. Moreover, it is a matter of degree: the *Heike hyōban* commentator and many Edo-period warriors were concerned with warriors neglecting and losing martial and leadership abilities due to excessive interest in courtly arts and luxurious lifestyle.

³³⁶ For example, the *Heike monogatari shō* succinctly summarizes the Heike’s faults:

However, the Heike clan including their outside vassals, in the last more than twenty years [the 1160s-1180s], were only involved in poetry, music, and luxury, they also abandoned buddhas and deities, they were treated distantly by various people, they forgot military arts, and now faced with an unexpected

inefficacy in the Latter Age, in times of trouble, and was used in didactic works, like the *Heike hyōban* commentary, to restrain warriors from imitating bad precedents.

For example, according to the *Heike* account, prince Mochihito falls six times from his horse between Miidera and Uji, which is justified by a lack of sleep. This minor episode triggers the *Heike hyōban*'s commentator to suggest different reasons, such as the prince not being accustomed to horses or being frightened, and then to develop a long discussion about the accomplishments and faults of warriors.

Evaluation says: [...] Warriors of the Latter Age, constantly pay attention to lack of accomplishments and aim at [achieving] a great matter once! In the Latter Age, the condition of Heike warriors is like that of blind cats and they are often busy with useless matters. Those who have high posts and big stipends build many enclosed tea-ceremony huts, invite this calligrapher and that master, and [talk about] having framed pictures put up in various tea huts, having some meeting in some tea hut today and having a talk with somebody in that tea hut tomorrow, a visit of some *shirabyōshi* dancer on that day in such a place, and inviting a puppeteer to this place tomorrow. They hold various diversions with food and drink without stop all day long. Therefore, even those warriors who are summoned to serve in the palace are only busy with serving at tables [as pages] and never make an effort to practice even a single warrior skill. Others gather in groups according to own tastes and discuss the good and bad cuisine all day long, talking about such a soup being eaten in this way, the way of preparing this broth, and fish salad being especially delicious. The whole company is amused only by this, they personally cut and fry deer and birds, and when they drink famous liquor without counting [the cups] and get drunk, they forget about their right mind and discuss rumours about other people, walk around with companions, and live their lives without purpose. There are also some who gather handsome youths with good voices, and are drawn to *kouta* ballads, *shamisen*, and hand drums. Also, they play board games and gamble, or spend days fishing, hawking, and hunting deer and monkeys. They also keep various birds and beasts, gather them together, and scare (?) children thinking of it as amusement in life. There are some who take pleasure in trifling Ways called *renga* and *haikai* poetry, take words put

situation, even if they pray deities or rely on human help, what use will it be? This should be called a [cautionary] example for later ages.

しかるに平家の一門其外従類に至まで廿余年此かた詩歌管絃奢侈のみにして仏神にもそむき諸人にうとまれ軍法をわすれ今俄にさしあたり神をいのり人をたのめばとて何の益とならんや末代の亀鑑と云つべし

Heike monogatari shō, 248.

together by other people and make them into feelings of their own heart. Fatiguing own minds, they finally put together a poem, and think of it as [acquiring] fame in society. There are some who love trees and grasses of gardens, and amuse themselves all day long by collecting numerous grasses and trees. Occasionally there are also people resembling warriors who say that they love horses, but they become like horse merchants. When, loving swords, they get involved in the way of profit and money, they also end up in the same category [of merchants]. For this reason, Kinai [capital area] warriors, being opposed by warriors of the East [Kantō], suffered much shame. However, it is hard to say that these faults are not found in any age. One has to be very prudent about this. Keeping in mind one's status of a warrior, a person with a thousand *koku* [stipend] [should strive to] become [a person with] ten thousand *koku*, a person with ten thousand *koku* [should aim at] governing a district, and a person governing a district should endeavour to [become] a warrior who governs his province. Without coveting bravery of a common man, constantly set your mind on raising your name in the world! [...]

評曰(…)末世^{まつ}の武士。常に無芸^{げい}を事^{こと}として。一度の大事を心がけ給へ。されば末世に至ぬれば。平家の諸^{しよさふらひ}侍^しの有様は。盲猫^{もうめう}にひとしくして。用なき事ども多し。或は高官^{くはん}大禄^{ろく}有人は。かこひ数奇屋^{すき}をあまた造^{つく}り。こゝの手書かしこの法師をかたらひては。所々の茶屋^{ちや}に額^{かく}をうたせ。けふはいづれの茶屋^{ちや}にていづれの会^{くはい}有^あ。明日はそこのちや屋にてたれの御申有。其日はそこへ。いづれの白拍子^{しらびやうし}来れり。明日はこなたへ傀儡^{くはいらい}師こそめせとて。様々の遊興^{けうぐ}供御^ごをもふけ。明暮是にいとまなきが故に。御内に召つかはるゝ武もたゞ此給仕^{きうじ}にいとまなくして。武芸^{げい}の一つもつとむる事なし。或は又おもひ／＼のどちらより合ては。明暮料理^{れうり}のよしあしを沙汰^{さた}し。何の汁^{なにしる}はかくしたゝめ。此あつものはいかゞこしらへ。なますは是こそ食^{くい}よけれとて。是のみ一座^{けう}の興として。手づから鹿鳥^{しか}切焼^{やき}て。名酒数をつくして飲醉^{のみゑい}ては。本心を忘れ。他人の噂^{うはさ}を誹判^{ひはん}して。おもふどちのみゆきめぐり。徒^{いたづら}に一生をくらす人有。或又顔よく声よき児若衆^{ちご}を集^{あつめ}。小うたしやみせん打拍子^{うちはやし}に。心をよする人も有。又は盤上^{ばん}ばくゑきをなし。或すなどり鷹狩^{たかかり}や鹿猿狩^{さる}に日をくらし。或諸鳥獸^{けだもの}を飼^{かひ}。所せきなくあつめ置。小坊主^{ぼう}童^{わらは}をせめつかひ。是を一世^{たのしみ}の楽となし。或は連歌^{れんか}俳偕^{はいかい}とて。よしなき道^{もてあそ}を翫^もび。他人のつらねし詞^{ことば}をとつて。己が心のおもひとなし。我が心をつからかし。漸^{やうやく}一句をつらねては。世の名聞^{もん}となす人あり。或は庭の木草^{あい}を愛^{あい}し。千草^{せん}萬木^{ばん}集

つゝ。明暮是を興^{けう}ずる人有。適^{たま} 武士に似たる人も。馬を愛するとは。馬商人^{あきんと}の様になり。太刀かたなを愛しては。利銭の道にかゝはりぬれば。是も同^{おなじ}き類に成ぬ。此故に幾内の武士。東国^{とう}武士にかけ立られ。あまたの恥^{はぢ}をとりける事有。されば此 誤^{あやまり}。何の世といふともあらじとは申がたし。能々つゝしむべき事也。武士たる故を心懸。千石の人は萬石となり。万石の人は郡^{こほり}を知り。郡を知人は其国を治^{おさむ}べき侍^{さふらひ}の本意有事を心がけ。匹夫の勇^いを貪^{ひつ}事なく。天下に其名を舉^{あぐ}べき事を常々心となし給へ。(…) ³³⁷

According to the *Heike hyōban* commentator, Heike warriors, described as “blind cats,” could not resist Genji forces because they neglected warrior training, did not practice any useful skills, and were “busy with useless matters.” The unusually detailed description of their pastimes is quite anachronistic, and mixes amusements available in the Genpei period with later ones that became popular in the medieval and early modern periods. It is possible that the author and his intended readers had a vague image of the twelfth century and did not see any significant difference between the time of the Heike and their own seventeenth century; however, it is more likely that amusements of the early-Edo warriors, which were the main target of criticism, were merged with those of the Heike for a didactic purpose. This view is confirmed by the phrase, “it is hard to say that these faults are not found in any age.” This is a typical scenario when making a comment on ethics is given priority over the accuracy of historical details.

Among the “useless matters” practised excessively by Heike warriors, the writer lists tea ceremonies, the appreciation of dancers and puppeteers, cooking, musical performances, banquets, games, fishing and hunting, poetry composition, and gardens. Even those who love horses and swords, as befits warriors, are said to love them as trade objects; that is, these people value them like merchants and do not use them for practising warrior skills. The tendency to

³³⁷ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 8 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 4:11 “The Battle on the Bridge”).

indulge in all these hobbies is especially noted in Heike warriors who are also called “Kinai warriors.” The Kinai area around the capital certainly provided more opportunities than the distant Kantō region to practice all the listed activities that were seen as the entertainment of nobles and merchants. As a result, Heike warriors lacked skills and “suffered much shame” during the conflict with the Genji warriors from Kantō. This contrast is also found in the *Heike* itself, but here it is emphatically formulated as a universal difference between idle and skilled warriors, with a didactic message for the present time.

Based on this passage, proximity to the capital and excessive participation in refined entertainments is not seen, from a warrior’s perspective, as a praiseworthy cultural development, but as a loss of warrior identity and skills, leading to defeat and shame. It is clear that the commentator sees a problem not so much in entertainment, as in the risk of fully neglecting warrior training. In the mostly peaceful Edo period, with warriors carrying out administrative functions and having much opportunity to take part in various entertainments, anxiety about warriors becoming like nobles and merchants was a constant theme in *gunsho* texts, and one of the motivations for producing didactic texts was to remind warriors about their true identity and purpose as understood by *gunsho* authors. Thus, this commentary and similar didactic treatises participate in the construction of Edo-period warrior identity, ideals, and norms of behaviour. In the final passage, the point about ambitions is based on a rather meritocratic concept according to which a truly skilled warrior who does not lead an idle lifestyle will rise to a position of a district governor or even a provincial lord. It is doubtful that such a merit-based idea worked in practice, but the author probably suggests that a wise ruler having to choose between an idle warrior-official and a skilled one will appoint the skilled candidate to a post in local or state administration.

5.3.6 Attitude to Divination

The worldview and religious beliefs of premodern warriors were made up of a diverse set of ideas and practices that included divination and magic spells, a topic requiring more attention and research. Treatises instructing on this kind of content are mostly associated with the medieval period, but many texts of Edo-period military studies also examine and criticize supernatural ideas and practices. It is difficult to determine whether these supernatural beliefs were shared by warriors irrespective of rank, or whether rulers and generals used such beliefs for the manipulation of low-level retainers and commoners. The *Azuma kagami* contains episodes which mention Yoritomo holding divinations; but, for most Edo-period military studies scholars, these were clearly cases of deception and manipulation.³³⁸ It is possible, however, that focusing

³³⁸ A parallel may be drawn with the rewriting of the lives of medieval saints during the Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century, when some of the former miracles came to be seen as deception. As pointed out by the historian Helen L. Parish,

The advent of Protestantism did not obliterate belief in the supernatural: there was a broad consensus among evangelical writers that the devil had the capacity to work wonders, and that the faithful could be deluded by them. What was disputed, however, was the source of the supernatural power of the saints, with the result that allegations of sorcery, conjuring, and necromancy came to feature heavily in the reconstruction of saintly vitae in the sixteenth century. If the ability to work true miracles was an indication of divine approbation, the apparent capacity of the saints to effect false wonders by evil means could be used to justify the condemnation of the Roman church as the church of the devil (p. 47).

For example, the miracle of the speaking crucifix at the Council of Winchester in 975 was part of the legend of Saint Dunstan, and was proof of divine support for clerical celibacy. In the sixteenth century, however, Dunstan's expulsion of married clerks from the cathedrals was, for Protestant writers, "the very doctrine of deuyls" inspired by Antichrist. The miracles effected in support of Dunstan's position were reduced to the status of diabolic magic. Protestant writer John Bale, who argued for clerical marriage, in his book *The first two partes of the actes or unchast examples of the Englysh votaries* (London, 1551), dismissed the "miracle" as a fabrication by Dunstan: "In the myddes of their prayer the roode spake these wordes, or els a knaue monk behynde hym in a truncke through the wall [...]. At thys worke of the deuill at al they were astoynd, that knewe not therof the crafty conueyance" (p. 56). Protestant historian John Foxe also suspected some deception involved and was adamant that the "speaking" crucifix should not be regarded as a manifestation of the divine will. In his *Actes and Monuments* (1570), he argued that Dunstan's miracle "proueth in thys matter nothing els but Dunstane to be a sorcerer" (p. 60). The radical transformation of St. Dunstan into a magician linked with the devil is indicative of the sweeping reassessment of former saints during the English Reformation. The miracles described by medieval hagiographers came to be seen as "the impudent and abhominable fictions," and divinely inspired miracles [became] false wonders of Antichrist (p. 65). See Helen L. Parish, "'Impudent and Abhominable Fictions': Rewriting Saints' Lives in the English Reformation," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 1 (Spring, 2001): 45-65.

on concepts related to worldly statecraft, planning, and schemes, they refused to accept that a great general like Yoritomo could seriously believe in divination.

The *Heike hyōban*, perhaps under the influence of the *Seven Military Classics*, mentions some divination methods, but warns generals against relying on them. It appears that the commentator found it necessary to argue against supernatural techniques, and this was probably part of the competition with existing schools based on divination. The commentator's stance is evident from the following "transmission" comment:

Death of Retired Emperor [Takakura] is a sign of disorder of the state. A text of family transmission of Tada no Mitsunaka³³⁹ says: "Wise ruler dies. Good vassals leave positions, loyal vassals quit their posts, new governments are set up several times, and there are numerous conflicts below. Military trouble continues for two years." This is a subtle idea of warrior mirrors.³⁴⁰

Transmission says: On the first day of the first month of Jishō 5 (1181), when [Yoritomo] had Sumiyoshi Kodayū Masanaga show cloud ethers in the state, Masanaga drew diagrams of the shapes of ethers and reported. He said: "From the beginning of this year's spring, there is much military trouble in the state. In all cases there are many auspicious signs for the Genji. First of all, in the fifteen days of the first month, there will be three joyful events." It is said that he reported thus. [...] When we take a step back and think about the meaning of this, Yoritomo's mind could not have been concerned with cloud ethers and divination at all. It must have been only something with which he manipulated the greedy and foolish. In general, a good general uses warriors with the purpose of becoming a ruler of the state. A person who is the ruler of the state is the head of the people, and a human person is the head of all beings. A person who has to be the head of the people who are the head of all beings, how can he be used by a mere thing? Thus, a good general uses all things and should not be used by things. Therefore, this [divination] should not be fully abandoned nor taken. One uses it on an appropriate occasion. It is used as a good fortune that should encourage own warriors and discourage the opponent. So, now I want to write about cloud ethers and transmit it to able generals of later age.

³³⁹ Minamoto Mitsunaka, or Tada Manjū (912-997 CE), one of the earliest members of the Minamoto (Seiwa Genji) clan.

³⁴⁰ This sentence is not clear. *Bukan* 武鑑 usually refers to Edo-period books of heraldry published every year since the mid-seventeenth century with the names, revenue, genealogies, residences, and crests of all daimyo lords, shogunal vassals, and their main retainers.

Perceive the deep meaning of this, do not be attached to phrases and do not fall into the way of divination!

新院崩御の事^{しん ほうぎよ}是天下^{ただの か でん}の乱相也。多田満仲家伝^{けん ほうぎよ}の書。曰。天下の賢王崩御なり 良^{りやう}臣位^{しよく}をすべり。忠臣^{しよく}職^しをとどめ。新政^{せい}しば / \ 起^{おこつ}て。下に役^{やく}しげきは。兩年^にの間の兵乱也と云り。是武鑑^{かん}の妙旨^したり
伝曰。治承五年正月一日に。住吉小太夫昌長^{まさ}をもつて。天下の雲気^{せう}を見せしめ給ふに。昌長^{まさ}氣^{かたち}の形^づを図^{ごん}して言上^{ことは}す。其言^{ことば}に云。今年^{はしめ}は春氣^{はしめ}の始よりして。天下に兵乱^{ことゝく}しげし。悉^{ことゝく}もつて源氏^{げん}の吉瑞^{ずいおほ}多し。先正月十五日の内に。三つの御^{よろこひ}悦^{ごん}あるべしと言上^{しりぞひ}すと云り。(…)退^{あんずる}て此心^{まつたく}を按^{うん}に是^{うん}全^{うん}頼朝^{うん}の心。雲氣^{うん}ト筮^{ぼくぜい}につかはれ給^{およそ}べからず。唯是^{とんく}貪愚^{とんく}をつかふのたよりとし給^{およそ}ふ物成^{およそ}べし。凡^{ひと}良將^{もちゆ}の兵^{もちゆ}を用^{もちゆ}る心得^{もちゆ}。天下に王たらん事^{ひと}をむねとす。それ天下に王たる者^{ひと}は人間の長^{ばん}たり。人は萬物^{ばん}の長^{ばん}たり万物^{ばん}に長^{ばん}たる所^{ばん}の人間^{ばん}にまで。長^{ばん}たるべき者^{ばん}。何ぞ纔^{わづか}の一物^{わづか}につかはる^{わづか}べけんや。故に良將^{わづか}万物^{わづか}をつかふて。万物^{わづか}に使^{つかは}る^{つかは}べからず。所以^{このゆへ}に一切^{このゆへ}すつる事^{このゆへ}もなく。とる事^{このゆへ}もなし。時の宜^{よろ}しきに用^{もちい}て。味方^{みかた}の兵^{みかた}をはげまし。敵^{さいてい}の氣^{さいてい}をくちくべき幸^{さいはい}にもちゆ。故に今^{うん}雲氣^{うん}のことわさを記^{しるし}て後世^{こうせい}の才將^{さい}につたへん事^{さい}を欲^{さい}す。其意底^{いいてい}を悟^{いいてい}て。文句^くになづみ隱筮^{いんせい}の道^{おちいる}に 陷^{おちいる}事^{おちいる}なかれ³⁴¹

Taking a materialistic approach, the commentator states that humans—and even more so, human rulers—use objects, and thus various divination objects should not have any power over a ruler’s mind. Nevertheless, a ruler or general is advised to know divination techniques for the manipulation and encouragement of subordinates, some or even many of whom are assumed to have faith in fortunetelling and divination. This comment is immediately followed by the next two curious “transmissions” that confirm the psychological function of these techniques and also provide a sample description of a divination ceremony. It should be noted that, from the commentator’s viewpoint, the use of divination as deception in appropriate cases does not seem

³⁴¹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

to contradict the overall insistence on mostly Confucian concepts such as benevolence and righteousness.

The authentic transmission about cloud ethers

There are two kinds of ways of ethers: knowing by [observing] the sky is called “cloud ethers,” and knowing by means of burning incense is called “stalk divination ethers.” [Divination by] both of these ethers is called “occult method.” One does it for real (openly?), but actually it has an occult quality. So, both “cloud ethers” and “stalk divination ethers” are both techniques of deception. They are based on human spirit. One observes the strength of human spirit by means of these two deception techniques. There is a complex transmission about human spirit. Fearing mean people I do not write about it [here].

Taigong says: Ethers of eight signs.³⁴² Hidden intention is determined by human ethers. Sunzi says: There is something called three seasons. It is called “Principle” and “Manifestation.”³⁴³

Secret transmission says: The sign that warriors will win in fighting appears beforehand in [their] spirit. It is clear in the world, but ignorant people are unable to perceive it. Bright generals perceive it. *Military Strategy* says: Employ the greedy and foolish.³⁴⁴

Transmission about stalk divination ethers

Wake up in the first third of the Tiger *koku* [two-hour period from 3 to 5 am], cleanse your body, put on new clothes, face north, burn incense, recite *ken-gen-kō-ri-tei*³⁴⁵ one hundred and eighty times, join your palms and vow to the gods of heaven and earth saying: “People are by nature narrow-minded and do not know whether they will win or lose, and whether they will have fortune or misfortune. Please, hear my prayer in heaven and clear clouds, and show me the sign of victory or loss!” After this prayer, burn incense, close eyes, repeat the phrase *ken-gen-kō-ri-tei* three times more, open your eyes and look. Clear smoke will rise straight, or from the straight smoke it will become two or three

³⁴² This probably refers to the eight forms of evidence by which one knows a person’s internal character, hidden behind his external appearance. The passage is found in section 20, “Selecting generals,” in the *Six Secret Teachings*. See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 64.

³⁴³ No such quote found. The “principle and manifestation” *riki* 理氣 are concepts in Neo-Confucian philosophy: universal principle and its expression or manifestation.

³⁴⁴ Section “Middle strategy” in the *Three Strategies*: “Employ the wise, courageous, greedy, and stupid.” See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 300.

³⁴⁵ From the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經): these characters are associated with the first hexagram for “dry” (*ken* 乾), which stands for the four virtues (benevolence, propriety, righteousness, wisdom), and also refers to the four seasons.

[parts]. All [these cases] are inauspicious. When it becomes one, it is auspicious. When it does not rise, it is inauspicious, too. This is a secret transmission about “stalk divination ethers,” a highly profound and important matter. Besides, there is something called an “ether of two wheels and seven corners.” It is a secret transmission.

うん
雲氣正伝

氣道二種有。天によつてさとるを雲氣と云。香を焼て悟を筮氣と云。二氣いづれも奇法と云。正をもつてなすと云ども。実は奇をとる。故に雲氣筮氣の二氣皆講術たり。人の氣をもつて本とす。人氣の強弱を。二氣の講術を以て察。人氣に微妙の伝受有。小人を恐て是を記さず。

太公曰。八徴の氣。密意は人氣の極也と

孫子曰。三時と云事有是は理氣と云也

口伝に云。それ兵戦勝のしるし精神に先立て現じ。天下に明也といへども。愚者はさとる事あたふべからず。明將是を悟者也。兵法曰。貪をつかひ愚をつかふと云り

せい
筮氣之伝受

とらのこくおききよめいふくあらためむかひたいけんかうてい
寅上刻に起て身を淨。衣服を改。北に向香を焼て。乾元亨利貞と。一百八十篇誦して掌を合て。天神地祇に誓て曰。人生固陋にして。勝負吉凶の運を知ず仰願は天。清雲に納受まし／＼て。勝負の微をしめし給へと祈て。香をついて眼をふさぎ。乾元亨利貞の文を又三返唱て眼を開て是見るに。清煙立事直くして。或は直煙の中より二となり。三と成事有べし。皆不吉たり。一なる時は吉とす。立ざる時も不吉也。是筮氣の秘伝極妙の大事也。其外二輪七角の氣と云事有。口伝也³⁴⁶

This content suggests that beliefs and practices related to divination were important in the context of military studies in the early Edo period. Despite strong criticism by some military studies scholars, this knowledge was recorded and transmitted in numerous texts. In some cases,

³⁴⁶ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

this type of content was removed from transmission or reinterpreted into ethical teachings. Also, this esoteric content helped military studies schools maintain a certain aura of secrecy. The topic requires further investigation, but divination likely had some psychological or ceremonial significance for commoners, warriors, and daimyo lords, too.³⁴⁷

The passages discussed in this section illustrate some of the common themes related to warriors and rulers that concerned the author(s) of the *Heike hyōban*: lord-subject relations, schemes and conspiracies, the importance of a ruler's insight into the people, warrior qualities and lifestyle, and criticism of divination. Similar discussions were conducted in other *gunsho* texts and commentaries in the early Edo period, forming a complex discourse on leadership, the aims and qualities of warriors, and ethical issues. These discussions, openly didactic and aimed initially at warriors of high-level, show what kinds of issues and ideas were raised during lectures and talks. Although each comment is merely the private opinion of a *rōnin* scholar or a daimyo's retainer, when many of them are compiled as lengthy commentaries with some degree of internal consistency, they express ideas of a certain group, circle, or school centred around a daimyo or a teacher; and thus, they represent a type of thinking within the warrior society of the time. The *Heike hyōban* and similar texts need to be taken into account in studies on Edo-period warriors, since they reveal the views of warriors related to their own identities and roles in society.

³⁴⁷ Images of divination ethers from the manuscript *Images of Military Ethers from the Collection of Instructions and Investigations* (*Kin'etsushū gunki zu* 訓閱集軍気図, 1638) can be seen in *Nihon heihō zenshū*, vol. 6, *Shoryū heihō 1*, ed. Ishioka Hisao (Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1967), 113-122. Here are several translations of texts accompanying these images: 1) When this ether comes out of the enemy castle, the general has a deep plan. One should not attack. 2) When this flame-like ether comes out of a castle, its master is about to go out and fight. Prepare to defend. 3) When cloud ethers above enemy camp resemble fighting roosters, and white and red colours are inside this ether, there is Heaven's help. One should not fight. A very auspicious ether. 4) When cloud ethers in the shape of mountains and hills stand above enemy camp, one should know that there is certainly an ambush.

In this chapter, I have examined commentarial techniques of the *Heike hyōban*, compared its views on the role of military studies with those expressed in the *Heike karui*, and discussed some of its common themes related to leadership and warriors. The *Heike hyōban* is a long work of twenty-four volumes and any selection leaves out important parts. The numerous passages discussed in this chapter are meant as an illustration of the commentary's overall style, format, and content. In Chapter 6, I consider modern research on the *Heike hyōban*, the commentary's reception in the Edo period, and its circulation in various archives and libraries.

Chapter 6 *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*: Research, Reception, and Circulation

The *Heike hyōban* commentary is an anonymous text without prefaces or other sources of information about its authors or the circumstances and aims of its production. It was known throughout the Edo period and kept in a variety of sites, and its unclear origins made it possible to associate the commentary with controversial figures such as Yui Shōsetsu. In modern scholarship, the text has remained outside of mainstream *Heike* research, although several studies have brought attention to its significance. In this chapter, I provide an overview of modern research on the text, assemble information from many Edo-period sources, and explore sites in which the *Heike hyōban* circulated. The goal is to understand the history of research on this commentary and its reception history in the Edo period. The main questions of this chapter are: who read the *Heike hyōban*, how was the work perceived, and where was it found in the Edo period?

6.1 Overview of Modern Research on the *Heike hyōban*

Reception of the *Heike* was not an actively researched topic in the twentieth century, either inside or outside Japan, as scholars focused more on the medieval origins of the work, the process of its compilation, and the study of numerous textual variants. For the purpose of investigating the origins and early circulation of the work, the study of late medieval and early modern readings is indeed unnecessary and many later related texts and commentaries were hardly studied. As a result, the seventeenth-century commentary the *Heike hyōban* did not become the object of scholarly interest and remains largely unknown. Such texts are

indispensable, however, for understanding what the *Heike* meant for readers in different time periods.

Even though no comprehensive studies or monographs were written about the *Heike hyōban* in the modern period, it was mentioned or discussed in several scholarly works. After the publication of the commentary's modern edition in 1886 (Meiji 19),³⁴⁸ a short article by the historian Yoshida Tōgo³⁴⁹ appeared in the *Tōyō gakkai zasshi* in 1890, discussing its content and possible authorship.³⁵⁰ Yoshida identifies its content as the “evaluation of what military studies scholars call the use of plots and techniques,” and secret transmissions of “plots and plans of ancient heroes.”³⁵¹ Citations of Japanese and Chinese past events and quotes from ancient thinkers, together with far-fetched conjectures and falsehoods, are also mentioned as part of the work, but Yoshida explains that this content should not be criticized since the work is a collection of “opinions expounded by military scholars in the period when instruction in military studies, Confucianism, and Buddhism was acclaimed in society” in the early Edo period.³⁵² Judging by the kind of military studies views expressed, Yoshida conjectures that the work was written before the Genroku (1688-1704) and Kyōhō (1716-1735) eras. Its content “tends to focus only on tricks and plots, with many malicious and dangerous points.”³⁵³ At the same time, Yoshida acknowledges that “this text could only be written by a very eloquent, talented person

³⁴⁸ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, ed. Naitō Kaga (Kin'ōdō, 1886). <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/993651>.

³⁴⁹ Yoshida Tōgo 吉田東伍 (1864-1918) —historian, geography scholar, and journalist of the Meiji and Taishō eras.

³⁵⁰ Yoshida Tōgo, “Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō kō,” *Tōyō gakkai zasshi* 4, 2 (1890): 89-92.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 90. 其評判する所、主として兵家の所謂権術の応用如何と云に在るが如し、其伝ふる所は古英雄の謀図にして、號して秘術口授に出つと云者也

³⁵² *Ibid.* 又好みて和漢古今の事例を挙げ、諸子百家の套語を引き、中には甚しき設想臆断を加へ牽強妄語を為すもあれど、之を当時の兵法軍学儒佛一切の指南などと世に持囃されし頃の兵家の祖述せる一家言として見れば咎むべきにもあらず

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 91. 但し其筆端は兎角に詐術陰謀にのみ走り、毒気を帯ひて危険多し

well-versed in literary arts.”³⁵⁴ He tentatively suggests that the author of the commentary was Yui Shōsetsu 由井正雪 (1605-1651), thus supporting opinions about its authorship that commonly circulated in the Edo period. It is interesting that in this Meiji-period article, criticism of the commentary’s content is not absolute, and the author mentions that this text had significance and validity in its own time period, that is, in the seventeenth century, when military studies schools and their teachings flourished.

The next mention of this commentary appears in 1926 in an article by the literary scholar Gotō Tanji.³⁵⁵ He views the content of the *Heike hyōban* as the author’s opinions, which contain many wrong views. Then, he quotes and supports the opinion of the scholar Akabori Matajirō 赤堀又次郎 (1866-?) about this text: “It criticizes and discusses people and events, but it is probably a text by somebody like Genroku-era military scholar. It is likely of no use.” After a brief discussion of its authorship, he adds that the work seems to have been written by a military studies scholar approximately in the Genroku era.³⁵⁶ Thus, in the 1920s, the commentary’s content was dismissed as “useless” and full of mistakes. This kind of critical attitude marginalized the commentary and undoubtedly hindered its study by scholars.

³⁵⁴ Ibid. 要之、滔々数十万言、才秀て文に長けたるに非れば、決して此著ある能はず

³⁵⁵ Gotō Tanji, “Heike monogatari no chūshaku oyobi kenkyū,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 3, no. 10 (1926). Reprinted in *Gunki monogatari kenkyū ronbunshū*, ed. Kuroda Akira and Okada Miho (Kuresu Shuppan, 2005), 341-355. Gotō Tanji 後藤丹治 (1897-1963) —literary scholar of the Shōwa era, known for his research on medieval war tales and Edo-period *yomihon* literature.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 348. その意見には僻説が多く、赤堀氏が「人物事件を批論したるなれど、元禄の軍学者などの手に成りしものか。何の益にもたたぬと云ふべきものか」と云はれたのは妥当な言である。（略）元禄前後の軍学者流の筆作らしい。

In 1962, the literary scholar Komatsu Shigeto 小松茂人 (1899-1996) gave a neutral or even positive evaluation of the commentary.³⁵⁷ He stated that “the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* is probably the first text criticizing and commenting on the *Tale of the Heike* from a rational and objective viewpoint.”³⁵⁸ Its critical standards are “moralistic, stoic thought and military theories of strategy and tactics.”³⁵⁹

In 1970, the literary scholar Yamashita Hiroaki 山下宏明, in an overview of the *Tale of the Heike* commentaries,³⁶⁰ states that most Edo-period commentaries mainly contain investigations of historical facts (*kōshō* 考証) and explanatory notes (*chūshaku* 注釈). This attitude, which is evident in most commentaries throughout the Edo period, does not undergo changes and oddly enough different commentaries do not reflect any characteristics of their age (*jidaisei* 時代性). However, commentaries with moralistic content, the *Heike hyōban* and *Heike monogatari shō*, despite biased views and tendentious content, do reflect the spirit of their age.³⁶¹ This peculiar difference of the *Heike hyōban* from most other Edo-period commentaries is one of the reasons why it is important for the study of the reception of the *Heike*.

In 1998, the literary scholar Shimizu Masumi 清水眞澄 pointed out that the *Heike hyōban* precedes later “regular” commentaries (*honkakuteki chūshakusho* 本格的注釈書) such

³⁵⁷ Komatsu Shigeto, “Heike monogatari kyōju no rekishi,” in *Chūsei gunkimono no kenkyū* (Ōfūsha, 1962), 213-231.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 225. 『平家物語』を理性的・客観的な立場で批評した恐らくは最初の文献は『平家物語評判秘伝抄』であろう。

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 227. いわば道学的、ストイック的な思想と、戦略戦術の兵法的論理が批判の規準である。

³⁶⁰ Yamashita Hiroaki, “Heike monogatari chūshakushi no kentō: ashizuri o megutte,” in *Heike monogatari: Shosetsu ichiran*, ed. Ichiko Teiji (Meiji Shoin, 1970), 170-203.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 174. 江戸時代の諸注を通じて感ぜられることは、註釈にとり組む姿勢において変化のないことで、そのそれぞれの註釈の時代性を感じさせないのは奇異でさえある。その点、その見方には偏向があるが、道学的な『抄』や『評判』の方が、むしろその時代性を思わせる。

as the *Heike monogatari kōshō*, created since the first half of the eighteenth century.³⁶² Shimizu adds that the *Heike hyōban* commentary, which circulated rather widely in the mid-Edo period, sets out moral ideas and military studies concepts.³⁶³

The main contribution to the study of the *Heike hyōban* was made by the literary scholar Horitake Tadaaki 堀竹忠晃, who published three articles (and one about the *Heike karui*) in the late 1990s.³⁶⁴ He emphasizes that the commentary is “a military studies text (*heihōsho*), not a text of tale literature (*monogatari bungei*).”³⁶⁵ Horitake explains that military studies of the Edo period deal not only with plans employed in battles, but also techniques used in statecraft and administration. Moral views are based on the concept of unity or harmony between Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism. The author-compiler’s critical stance was that of “a patriot who deplored and resented the contemporary age and society that he severely criticized.”³⁶⁶ Horitake suggests that the commentary was intended to be read by daimyo lords and high-level warrior-officials.³⁶⁷

³⁶² Shimizu Masumi, “*Heike monogatari no juyō: kinsei (chūshakushi o fukumu)*,” in *Heike monogatari hihiyō to bunkashi*, ed. Yamashita Hiroaki (Kyūko Shoin, 1998), 135-157.

³⁶³ Ibid., 152. 己の道学や兵法の理念を説こうとするもの。近世中期にはかなり流布した

³⁶⁴ Horitake Tadaaki, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō no henchosha ni tsuite: ‘hyō’ no bu ni okeru shisōteki haikai*,” in *Gunki monogatari no mado*, vol. 1, ed. Kansai gunki monogatari kenkyūkai (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1997), 459-478.

——, “*Heike monogatari no juyō to hen’yō: Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō ‘den’ no bu o chūshin to shite*,” *Ronkyū Nihon Bungaku* 64, no. 3 (May 1996): 8-22.

——, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō ‘den’ no bu ni okeru hōhō to jinbutsu keishō*,” *Nihon Bungeigaku* 33 (1996): 104-120.

——, “*Heike monogatari no juyō to hen’yō: Heike monogatari hyōban karui o chūshin ni*,” *Ronkyū Nihon Bungaku* 69 (December 1998): 25-37.

³⁶⁵ Horitake Tadaaki, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō ‘den’ no bu ni okeru hōhō to jinbutsu keishō*,” 119. 『平家物語評判』は（略）兵法書であり、物語文芸の書ではない。

³⁶⁶ Horitake Tadaaki, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō no henchosha ni tsuite: ‘hyō’ no bu ni okeru shisōteki haikai*,” 460. 編著者は、現世に悲憤慷慨する憂国の士であるということだ。（略）現実社会に対しては穏やかな気持ちになれなかったらしく、かなり痛烈な批評を展開している。

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 476.

More recently, in an article published in 2008, the literary scholar Saya Makito 佐谷眞木 人 discusses the influence of the *Heike hyōban* on later texts of *jōruri* plays. Several specific passages demonstrate that *jōruri* authors relied not only on the *Heike* itself, but also borrowed ideas from the *Heike hyōban*.³⁶⁸ Currently, Abe Michiyo 阿部美知代, a graduate student of Japan Women's University (*Nihon Joshi Daigaku* 日本女子大学), is conducting research on the *Heike hyōban* and has already published several articles about its authorship, content, and circulation. For example, Abe shows that in the mid-nineteenth century, the *Heike hyōban* was purchased and studied by a village headman and landlord who likely used it as a source of knowledge necessary for family and village management.³⁶⁹

The above overview shows that modern scholarship on the *Heike hyōban* fluctuated between neglect and interest. Most scholars recognize its links with military studies scholars, and its content centred on leadership and ethics. Perhaps the content of texts like the *Heike hyōban* was considered neither sufficiently “literary” for modern literary research, nor sufficiently rigorous for historians. The total number of studies is quite limited, and yet the commentary was never fully ignored, attracting some interest as a text related to didactic literature, *Heike* reception, and Edo-period intellectual history. New details about the work and its circulation may be revealed by further research on local archives and family records. In the following section, I assemble and discuss passages from a variety of Edo-period sources that mention the *Heike hyōban*, in order to clarify how it was perceived in the Edo-period.

³⁶⁸ Saya Makito, “Yoshitsune senbonzakura to *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*,” *Geibun kenkyū* 95 (December 2008): 199-212.

³⁶⁹ Abe Michiyo, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*: Watanabe Jizaemon kō,” *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka Kiyō* 23 (March 2017): 1-15, <http://id.nii.ac.jp/1133/00002515/>.

6.2 Overview of Edo-period Reception of the *Heike hyōban*

The *Heike hyōban* is one of the works representing Edo-period reception of the medieval *Tale of the Heike*. Its own reception history, in turn, provides clues for understanding the commentary's readership, its scope of circulation, and the reputation it had in the Edo period. Here, I overview mentions of the *Heike hyōban* (some possibly referring to non-extant, different works having this title³⁷⁰) in several texts of the mid- and late-Edo period, and in the following section I discuss settings in which the work was kept as a physical object.

Probably, the earliest link between the *Heike hyōban* commentary and Yui Shōsetsu (1605-1651), a military studies scholar and leader of the failed anti-bakufu rebellion in 1651, was made in the *Circumstances of Yui Shōsetsu's arrest* (*Yui Shōsetsu meshitori shidai* 由比正雪召捕次第), dated 1651/07/26:

³⁷⁰ For example, in the section on Yui Shōsetsu in Tokutomi Iichirō, *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi Tokugawa bakufu kamiki*, vol. 3 (Min'yūsha, 1925), compiled by the journalist, critic, and historian Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富猪一郎 (1863-1957), there is the following paragraph:

When one reads the *Heike monogatari hyōban*, transmitted in the world as one of the works he left behind, it appears that, although he did not necessarily have brilliant ideas, he had general scholarship and knowledge. The book is not criticism of the *Tale of the Heike*, rather he made use of it to express his own aspirations and opinions. One can get the idea of his attitude from the section on the Bow Oars episode [Chapter 11:1 in the *Heike*] in which he mocks Kajiwara as a man of small ability and regrets that Yoshitsune lacked capability as a general. Since there is also a view that extant *Heike monogatari hyōban* is not his work, it is by no means reliable [for assessing Yui Shōsetsu].” (p. 19)

彼の遺著として世に伝ふる、平家物語評判を見れば、必ずしも卓抜の見なきも、一通りの学問、知識はあつた様だ。彼書は平家物語を批判するにあらずして、寧ろ之を仮りて、彼の抱負、意見を述べたものだ。其の逆路櫓の事件に就て、梶原を小才なりと嘲り、義経に大将の器なしと惜みたるが如き、其の一斑を見る可しだ。或は現存の平家物語評判は、彼の著述ではないと云ふ説もあれば、必ずしも当てにはならぬ。

And also:

He himself compiled texts like *Kenshōroku* and *Wakan gunri*, and during the Shōhō era [1644-1648] he wrote twenty-seven volumes of the *Heike monogatari hyōban*. Since this text went out of print, one view holds that the text with the same title that is transmitted in the world nowadays differs from his work. (p. 22)

彼は自から献捷録や、和漢軍理を編述し、正保年中には、平家物語評判二十七巻を作つた。此書は絶版となつたから、今日世に伝ふる同名の書は、彼の著とは同じからずと云ふ説もある。

Tokutomi Iichirō likely used the following earlier work, which expresses a similar idea: Nagata Gūtoku, *Tokugawa sanbyakumen shi*, vol. 3 (Shōkabō, 1905), 255-256.

Originally, Shōsetsu grew up in Sunpu. In his youth, he was in a Rinzai temple, where he read texts, etc. Later, he went to Edo and lectured on the *Seven Military Classics* and such. He became a lecturer on the *Taiheiki hyōban*. He also himself composed the *Heike monogatari hyōban*, etc. He had many disciples of military studies and thus became widely known.³⁷¹

In addition to naming the commentary's author, this official document states that the work was created within military studies by the author who lectured on the *Seven Military Classics* and the *Taiheiki hyōban* commentary. The suggestion is that the scholar lecturing on the *Taiheiki hyōban* decided to use a similar format and approach to create a commentary based on the *Heike*. The text was either based on, or created for, lectures to disciples.

Another early mention of the *Heike hyōban* commentary is found in the manuscript *Yui kongenki* 油井根元記, an anonymous biographical work about Yui Shōsetsu, which was probably written soon after his failed anti-bakufu revolt of 1651.

On Shōsetsu's writing of the *Heike monogatari hyōban*, and about dry fish seller Matasuke.

At this time, in the house rented by Shōsetsu, there was a dry fish seller Matasuke. In the morning he went out walking on frost, in the evening he returned under the stars, and thus he made his living. Every morning he came to the door of Shōsetsu and asked about the daily weather. Shōsetsu looked at the sky from the window and said "Today after the eighth hour [1 pm] it will rain," "tonight we will have an earthquake," or "it will be cloudy and there will be a hurricane." He was truly a fortuneteller. Then, when the rebellious plot was disclosed in Edo, they say he knew about it before others being himself in Suruga. Shōsetsu wrote the *Heike monogatari hyōban*, but after the revolt was revealed, it was ordered not to print more copies. The entire work consists of twenty-four volumes, it is an excellent text. Someone said: When employed, even a mouse becomes a tiger. When not employed, even a tiger becomes a mouse.³⁷² In the end, Yui also became

³⁷¹ 正雪元来駿府素性之者幼少之時臨濟寺に有之読物杯仕其後江戸へ罷出七書杯講釈仕太平記の評判読となり自分にも平家物語評判杯作り軍学之弟子数多取候て方々名を發したる由に候。Cited from *Heike monogatari*, Zōho Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei 9, ed. Takagi Ichinosuke, Nagazumi Yasuaki, Ichiko Teiji, Atsumi Kaoru (Sanseidō, 1977), 414. Full text of this document is found in *Shiseki shūran*, vol. 16, ed. Kondō Heijō (Kondō Shuppanbu, 1902-1926), 274-285, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1920319/143>.

³⁷² This is a reference to the volume forty-five of the sixth-century anthology *Selections of Refined Literature* (Ch. *Wenxuan*, J. Monzen 文選): "when used/employed one becomes a tiger, when not used/employed one becomes a

a mouse of the state and devoured lives of many people. His text was also abandoned of its own accord, and it turned into a nest [of birds or mice] and became dust on crossbeams.³⁷³

The first part of the story about Yui Shōsetsu forecasting weather is not a random description of his abilities, but can be taken as a continuation of the medieval divination practice that required an expert to decide based on observation of heavenly phenomena, weather, cloud formations, etc. In the early Edo period, military studies scholars such as Yui Shōsetsu were also associated with the observation of weather, forecasts, and similar activities. The main point of the above passage is the statement ascribing authorship of the *Heike hyōban* to Yui Shōsetsu. The twenty-four-volume work is praised as “an excellent text” that was, however, no longer published after the 1651 revolt. Yui Shōsetsu is acknowledged as a potential “tiger,” that is, a talented ambitious person who could, in fact, write a good book. The unknown author of *Yui kongenki* adds that the commentary was eventually discarded and neglected. It is quite possible that the commentary ascribed to Yui Shōsetsu is a completely different work having nothing in common with the extant commentary. It is not clear what sources or evidence was used by writers who claimed to know the name of the author of the *Heike hyōban*. Editions of the commentary are completely anonymous and provide no clues about its author. In addition,

mouse” 用之則為虎、不用則為鼠。The basic meaning is that one is able to show own talent when given a post, and when not employed, one ends up hidden, not noticed as a mouse. This comment likely refers to Yui Shōsetsu’s status of a *rōnin*.

³⁷³ 正雪平家物語の評判書ける事附干物や又助か事

爰に正雪於借屋に又助といへる干物屋有りけり朝に霜を踏て出夕に星をいたゝきて帰るいとなみをして過けるか朝な / \ 正雪か扉を音信て其日 / \ の天氣を聞ける正雪窓より空を詠めて今日は八ツ時分より雨降なり今宵は地震すへき夜也又雲立大風なりなといへる誠にさすのみ子なりされは江戸にて逆意ほころびたるを其身は駿河に有て先達て考知るとかや正雪平家物語の評判を作りけるか逆意露頭の後絶板被仰付たり全部廿四巻なり勝れたる書也誰いゝけん用れは鼠も虎となり用ひさるときは虎も鼠となるよし既に油井も天下の鼠と成て多の人の命を喰けるなり書もおのつから捨てて巢に作り桁の塵とそなりゆきける

Yui kongenki, in *Irō monogatari*, vol. 11, ed. Kusakabe Kagehira, National Diet Library.

The twenty-volume manuscript *Irō monogatari* 遺老物語, with *Yui kongenki* 油井根元記 as volume eleven, was compiled by the mid-Edo National Learning scholar and bakufu vassal Kusakabe (Asakura) Kagehira 日下部(朝倉)景衡 (1660-?).

reliable information about Yui Shōsetsu was scarce in the Edo period: it was kept secret, or even destroyed by the bakufu authorities after the events of 1651. In any case, the unfounded link to Yui Shōsetsu negatively affected the reputation of the *Heike hyōban* commentary and similar texts. I also note that the commentary was not at all abandoned and forgotten as claimed in the above text, because its “inaccuracies” were corrected in another commentary, the *Heike karui*, published in 1712, and the work itself was kept in numerous archives across Japan throughout the Edo period.

Next, the *Heike hyōban* commentary is mentioned in the manuscript *Old Women’s Chat over Tea* (*Rōō chawa* or *Rōō sawa* 老嫗茶話), a collection of stories of the Aizu region compiled in 1742 by a local warrior, Misaka Haruyoshi 三坂春編 (ca. 1704-1765).

Yui Shōsetsu: In Keian era, in Suruga province in the place called Yui, there was a person called Shōsetsu. He was of humble origins, a son of a dyer, but at the age of thirteen, he learned writing under a rōnin called Takamatsu Hanbei, and in his spare time he read the *Taikōki* written by lay priest Oze Hoan, and set his mind on rebellion. At sixteen, he worshipped the image of Kusunoki [no Masashige], called Mizumori Daimyōjin, that stands on Mount Asama in Shinano province. Conspiring with the main priest, he dug under a big pine tree standing in northwest corner before the shrine, and buried a stone box. Inside he buried a banner with floating chrysanthemum (*kikusui* 菊水),³⁷⁴ one set of armour, and a short sword of nine *sun* five *bu* [9.5 *sun*, about 29 cm] made by Yoshimitsu 吉光.³⁷⁵ Then, many years later, he came to Asakusa in Kantō and Musashi, and became a rōnin of the Kishū [Tokugawa] family, they say. He taught Kusunoki-ryū military studies, taking [as his disciples] the most eminent shogunal vassals (*hatamoto*). He wrote twenty-four volumes of the *Heike monogatari hyōban* commentary making his wisdom known to others.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ The crest of the Kusunoki family in the shape of a chrysanthemum floating down a river.

³⁷⁵ Yoshimitsu (1239? - 1291?) was a famous swordsmith of the Kamakura period, known for short swords.

³⁷⁶ 由井正雪 慶安年中駿河国由井といふ所に正雪といふもの有り。元賤き紺屋の子なりしが十三の歳高松半平といふ浪人者を師として手習をならひ、隙に小瀬甫菴入道が作りし太閤記を見て謀叛の志有り。十六の春信濃国浅間嶽に立玉ふ水守大明神とて楠が守本尊を祭りける。此神主と示合せ神前の乾の角の大松の下を掘石櫃一箇を埋其内へ菊水の旗甲一領吉光の九寸五分の脇差を埋。其後年月遙におし移り東

This text repeats the earlier legend or rumour about Yui Shōsetsu as the author.

Apparently, even without any solid evidence, this version had sufficient romantic appeal to circulate for a long time. This passage contains interesting details about his reading, as a youth, of the *Taikōki* about Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and his worship of Kusunoki no Masashige which led to his career as a master and teacher of the Kusunoki-ryū military studies in Edo. In many cases, schools of military studies indeed grew out of the worship of ancient heroes who were believed to be founders of the schools. Masters often claimed to be descendants of prominent figures of the past, or keepers of ancient texts transmitted directly from those founders. Yui Shōsetsu's anti-bakufu revolt is tied here to his readings about the Toyotomi, removed from power by the Tokugawa, and his worship of Kusunoki no Masashige, usually seen as a pro-imperial hero. It is a curious claim that in Edo he became a *rōnin* of the Kishū family, one of the three branches of the Tokugawa. The *Heike hyōban* commentary, praised as an expression of his wisdom, is also linked to his military studies lectures to high-ranking *hatamoto* and possibly to members of the Kishū Tokugawa family. Nothing is said about the later fate of the text.

The commentary is also mentioned in *Trivial Diverse Opinions* (*Isetsu machimachi* 異説 まちまち), a *zuihitsu* about Confucianism and military studies written by Wada Ukō 和田烏江 (ca.1694-?), a Confucian scholar and warrior, in around 1750 and published in 1813.

[...] It is said that the *Heike monogatari hyōban* was written by Yui Shōsetsu. (headnote: the *Heike monogatari hyōban* is not Yui Shōsetsu's work, but that of some bandit who attempted to attack the Zōjōji temple.) This is described in detail in the *Rōō sawa*. In it, even Yoritomo is considered a foolish general, as for other people's evaluations, it appears as if there were no [decent] people in the world. This is a matter of looking down upon people because of one's own pride. Considering himself the only wise person, he probably ended up having inordinate ambition. It is very outrageous. How can

武浅草に來り紀州家の牢人なりといふ。楠流の軍法を教へ諸旗本の歴々を取。平家物語の評判廿四冊を作り吾智を人にしらしむ。Cited from *Heike monogatari*, Zōho Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei 9, ed. Takagi Ichinosuke, Nagazumi Yasuaki, Ichiko Teiji, Atsumi Kaoru (Sanseidō, 1977), 450.

Yoritomo's broad-mindedness of establishing the state and unifying it [by dominating over other lords] match the speculation of someone like Shōsetsu? Yamaga [Sokō] criticized Zhu [Xi] and thought that he himself will attain the [true Confucian] lineage of the sages. Now, many people in military studies coax saying "secrets, secrets," think highly only of themselves, and compare themselves to [the Han dynasty general] Kanshin (Ch. Han Xin 韓信, ?-196 BCE) being appointed as [a talented] general.³⁷⁷

This text repeats the same legend specifically referring to the version found in the *Rōdō sawa* given above. The headnote, likely added later, disagrees and suggests a different author, perhaps hinting at Shoke Kakunen 所化廓然 of Zōjōji temple, who took part in Yui Shōsetsu's plot; or perhaps Ishibashi Gen'emon 石橋源右衛門, who was indirectly involved in another *rōnin* plot in 1652 (more on them below). The author of *Isetsu machimachi*, believing the legend, criticizes Yui Shōsetsu for his arrogance and "inordinate ambition," evident in critical evaluations expressed in the *Heike hyōban* commentary. The author is especially vexed by negative comments made about Minamoto no Yoritomo, and takes them as evidence of Yui Shōsetsu's excessive pride in his own wisdom. The author also views it as a common fault of many scholars of military studies. This criticism may be part of a larger disregard of military studies by Confucian scholars in the Edo period. It should be noted that in the *Heike hyōban*, Yoritomo is not presented only as a "foolish general." In fact, he is one of several focal figures of the work, along with Taira no Shigemori and Minamoto no Yoshitsune, and he is usually discussed as a good general who brought order.³⁷⁸ At the same time, nobody, including Yoritomo, is seen as

³⁷⁷ 又平家物語評判は由井正雪が書たりといふ。〔頭書〕平家物語評判は正雪にはあらず、増上寺を襲んとせし賊何某が作也。〕事は老嫗茶話に詳也。頼朝をも愚将となし、其外色々の人評、天地に人なしとみゆ。是己が高慢より人を見くだしての事也。我一人賢しとこそ思ひてこそ、非望をもなしつらめ。いと浅間し。頼朝天下創業の大度、覇業、いかで正雪ごときの臆度に及ばんや。山鹿氏が朱氏を排し、己聖人の道統に企及ぶとおもへり。今迤も軍家者流の者、秘伝々々と言より、我のみ高く覚へ、韓信登壇に自比すとおもへり。 Cited from *Heike monogatari*, Zōho Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei 9, ed. Takagi Ichinosuke, Nagazumi Yasuaki, Ichiko Teiji, Atsumi Kaoru (Sanseidō, 1977), 472.

³⁷⁸ Horitake Tadaaki, "Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō 'den' no bu ni okeru hōhō to jinbutsu keishō," *Nihon Bungeigaku* 33 (1996): 111-116.

consistently perfect, and this attitude may in fact be praised as a more balanced and less biased approach, suitable for an evaluation-based critical commentary. The author of *Isetsu machimachi* seems to dislike the *hyōban*-style evaluation that allows negative and sometimes harsh criticism of eminent historical figures, contains judgements of practically anybody's words and deeds in specific situations, and often presents diverse views as in a debate. The stance of a critic giving evaluations, especially negative ones, may easily appear arrogant and conceited.

Let us consider another text that discusses the *Heike hyōban*, the *Historical Accounts and Talks Recorded by Jōzan* (*Jōzan kidan* 常山紀談), a collection of anecdotes about generals of the Warring States and early Edo periods compiled by Yuasa Jōzan 湯浅常山 (1708-1781), a high-level warrior-official of the Okayama domain, as well as a Confucian scholar of the Sorai school, and a military studies scholar. This text, completed in 1770 and published around 1825, contains one section (#467) about the *Heike hyōban* commentary:

Honda Tadayoshi, [daimyo] lord of Noto, once asked people in his attendance about texts recently sought after in the world, and someone said: “*Heike monogatari hyōban*.” He asked: “Who wrote it?” The person replied: “Yui Shōsetsu wrote it.” Tadayoshi said: “In general, texts are honoured because they are written by sages and virtuous people. Shōsetsu is an evil bandit. This [text] can't be right. I think it is impure even to hear about that text. Even though they say one should not disregard anybody's words, how can such a bandit have anything good to say? All of you, understand this well!”³⁷⁹

Apparently, in the late eighteenth century, even among military studies scholars, the *Heike hyōban* was believed to be the work of Yui Shōsetsu. The text tells about an incident that allegedly took place more than a century earlier, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

³⁷⁹ 本田能登守忠義、或時近習の人に、近きころ世にもてはやす書の事を問れしに、平家物語評判の事を申者あり。「それは誰が著したるにや」と問る。「由井正雪が作り候」と答ふ。忠義、「凡書籍は賢人君子の著す処なるゆゑにこそ崇む事にはあれ。正雪は大悪逆の賊なり。よも正しき事はあらじ。其書籍聞も穢はしく覚ゆ。人を以て言をすてずといふ事のあれども、かゝる凶賊の何条よき言のあるべき。汝等よく心得よ」といはれけり。Yuasa Jōzan, *Jōzankidan Honbunhen*, ed. Kikuchi Shin'ichi (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1992), 321.

Without questioning its authorship, the daimyo Honda Tadayoshi (1602-1676, lord of various domains from 1631 to 1662) rejected the text to avoid any contact with ideas of a rebel and criminal. Despite negative criticism of the daimyo, the retainer's high esteem of the commentary in this episode suggests that the work had a high reputation nevertheless, and was considered a text to be read or discussed by daimyo lords and their retainers.

A similar story is found in *Semetewagusa* 責而者草, an early nineteenth-century collection of stories about wise lords and retainers, written in 1813 by Shibui Norifumi 渋井徳章 and published in 1842. In the section devoted to *fudai* daimyo, *hatamoto*, and retainers, a story very similar to the one given above describes the attitude of Honda Tadatsune (1661-1709, as lord 1695-1709), lord of Noto and son of Honda Tadayoshi. Apparently, a century or more after the event, different writers attributed the story to different generations of Honda lords.

Lord Tadatsune once asked a close retainer in charge of texts, “Are there any decent texts printed recently, such as non-official histories (*yashi* 野史)³⁸⁰ and miscellaneous histories (*zasshi* 雑史)?” The retainer replied: “I have read the *Heike monogatari hyōban*, and it is admirably reasonable (*ri o tsukushi* 理を尽し). If you will read it, I will give it to you.” Lord of Noto had that man read the *hyōban*. After having him read the first chapter of Gion Shōja, the lord asked about its critic (*hanja* 判者). The retainer said: “I heard it may be Yui Shōsetsu.” Lord of Noto was greatly astonished and said in a fury with glaring eyes: “You must quickly throw that book outside the gate. It should not stay in my house even for a moment. If you think of reading that book, you have certainly strayed from the way of a retainer.” His appearance and deportment were full of honourable spirit, and nobody dared to look at him. Retainers who scrambled for seats prostrated themselves and could not stop their tears. After this, his commander said: “He caused your displeasure by his misconduct. What is your decision?” The lord said: “There is no need

³⁸⁰ This term refers to historical works compiled not by official order, but by private individuals not affiliated with government institutions.

to punish with confinement at home. I think he forgot about the way of loyalty. Tell this [to him].” He did not call him to account for this matter.³⁸¹

Despite its overall similarity with the above story, this version contains additional details about readings of the commentary in a daimyo court. The latter half of the story tells about a very negative reaction of the lord to the suggestion, based on a rumour, that the formally anonymous text was written by the enemy of the bakufu, Yui Shōsetsu. The main object of the lord’s fury is everything linked to the rebel, and not the commentary and its content. In fact, Yui Shōsetsu was a scholar of the Kusunoki-ryū school of military studies, and many of this school’s texts—including works falsely believed to be related to this school—acquired a bad reputation after his anti-bakufu plot of 1651. The daimyo in the above story apparently wanted to avoid any trouble that could follow from having the *Heike hyōban* text in his residence, or from lectures based on this text given in his presence. Apart from this, this episode gives a glimpse of how lectures on such texts took place. The daimyo asked a retainer who was well-versed in texts about newly printed books in the genre of unofficial or miscellaneous histories. The initiative came from the lord himself, who was known as a wise ruler fond of military studies and learning in general.³⁸² A significant point is the retainer’s evaluation of the commentary as a reasonable

³⁸¹ 忠常殿、一日書籍を司る近臣に命じて曰く、近世印行せし書籍、野史・雑史等然るべきものありやと云ふ、近臣応へて曰く、平家物語評判を閲し仕候に、殊勝に理を尽し候、若し御覧あるべく候はゞ捧げんと云ふ、能登守其の者をして評判を読ましむ、祇園精舎の一章を読ましめて其の判者を問ふ、臣曰く、由井正雪とやらん承り候と申す、能登守大に驚き、其の書早く門を出して捨つべし、暫しも我が家門に置くべからず、汝其の書を読む事を思ひ候はゞ、將に臣の道を失へりと、眼を瞋らし激怒し給ふ、其の容貌・举止義氣盛んにして、敢へて望み難し、席を争ひし近臣等、平伏して感涙を止め得ざりし、其の後彼の隊長、不義の挙を以て御意に違ひ、如何申付くべく候やと伺ひ申しければ、遠慮に及ばず候、忠義の道を忘れ候様に覚え候、此段申渡すべく候とて、其の儀を責められず、 Shibui Norifumi, *Semetewagusa*, vol. 3 (Kokushi kenkyūkai, 1917), 70-71.

³⁸² For example, in the same work, *Semetewagusa*, he is described as follows:

Lord Tadatsune always read texts and histories, classics of the sages and transmissions of the wise, and he never neglected scholarship on military studies and army matters. He mainly liked and respected people who excelled in warrior arts. Among them, he especially liked firearms and cannons, and even during the midsummer’s hot weather, he went out to an open field that was a training ground and observed [the drills]. He considered it his retainers’ tough work and explored the secrets of military studies.

work that he considered worthy to be read to the lord. The retainer also thought of this text as belonging to the genre of unofficial or miscellaneous histories. As suggested in Chapters 2 and 3, such commentaries in the seventeenth century were taken seriously, and their content was viewed as historical and practical, rather than fictional and literary. Another peculiar point is the term used for the author of the commentary: instead of a simple “author” or “writer,” the term for the *hyōban* author is “judge, critic” (*hanja* 判者). This word refers to a person evaluating the good and bad sides of something. For example, a judge at poetry contests (*uta-awase* 歌合) was called *hanja* (also read as *hanza*) since the Heian period. In this case, the author/compiler of the *Heike hyōban* is called *hanja*, which is indeed suitable for a person evaluating and judging the words and deeds of characters in the *Heike*.

Let us now consider a story about the *Heike hyōban* found in the *Wagakoromo* 我衣, a nineteen-volume *zuihitsu* essay collection about the customs of the early- and mid-Edo period, written in 1825 by Katō Eibian 加藤曳尾庵, also known as Katō Gen’etsu 加藤玄悦 (1763-?), a warrior of the Mito domain, as well as a writer and a doctor.

Although they say in the world that the *Heike monogatari hyōban* is a work by Yui Shōsetsu, actually it was written by Shoke Kakunen 所化廓然 of the Zōjōji temple. This Kakunen was not only an erudite, but also a person skilled in swordsmanship. When he was led around [the city on horseback as a criminal] after the death of Shōsetsu, and when he was brought to Izumoji temple, before the Izumi publisher, a signboard with this *Heike monogatari hyōban* was demonstrated [as one of his crimes], and Kakunen looked at it sitting on horseback and said: “Ah, foolish fellows! I wrote this book with utmost effort. Even if I got bad reputation, this book has no blame. This is how reputation works,

忠常殿、常に聖經・賢伝の書史に眼をさらされ、兵法・軍旅の学問昼夜怠り給はず、武芸に秀いでたる者を以て専ら愛敬せらる、其の中に火器鉄砲を殊更に好ませ給ひ、盛夏の炎天と雖も、其の教場の眩原に出で、是を覧見せらる、是れ其の臣の労を思ひ給ひ、兵法の奥義を探り給ふなるべし、Ibid., 73.

nothing can be done about it. It is due to Heaven, it is my fate.” He passed by greatly sighing in grief. I read about this in some text.³⁸³

This version stands apart from those given above that focus on Yui Shōsetsu. According to this text, the author of *Heike hyōban* is Shoke Kakunen, a monk of Zōjōji temple in Edo, who was a learned man and a skilled swordsman. Since he took part in Yui Shōsetsu’s plot, he was arrested and led around as a criminal. One of his crimes was writing the commentary. Unfortunately, the author of *Wagakoromo* has not specified the exact source of his information. This alternative view also had some circulation, as can be seen from the headnote in *Isetsu machimachi*, discussed above.

In addition, the book index of 1670 (*Kanbun jūnenkan shoseki mokuroku* 寛文十年刊書籍目録) lists the name of Ishibashi Gen’emon 石橋源右衛門 (?-1652) as the author of the *Heike hyōban* commentary.³⁸⁴ He was a warrior from Bingo and a scholar of military studies who was punished for not disclosing the *rōnin* plot, known as the Jōō Incident (*Jōō no hen* 承応の変) of 1652. Perhaps he was also involved in the production of the *Genpei jōsuiki hyōban* commentary on the *Genpei jōsuiki*.

As a whole, the above texts created throughout the Edo period do not provide a definite answer to the question of *Heike hyōban* authorship. Most sources tell and repeat the legendary version related to Yui Shōsetsu, even though no convincing evidence can be found. Apart from the bad reputation associated with the “bandit,” the text was often praised for its wisdom and

³⁸³ 世に、平家物語の評判、由井正雪作なりといへ共、実は増上寺所化廓然が著す処也、此廓然、博物のみならず、剣法早業に熟したり、正雪滅後引廻しになる時、出雲寺和泉が前を引るゝ時、此平家物語評判の看板を引廻せしに、廓然馬上より見て、あゝ愚智なる奴原かな、我心を尽して此書を綴る、悪名を得るといへども、此書に科なし、人気のしからしむる所にして、是非もなし、天なるかな、命なるかな、とて大に歎息して通れり、と或書に見えたり、
Wagakoromo, in *Enseki jisshu*, vol. 1, ed. Iwamoto Kattōshi (Chūōkōronsha, 1979), 225-226.

³⁸⁴ *Heike monogatari kenkyū jiten*, 533.

quality content. The above works also demonstrate that the commentary was neither forgotten nor ignored in the Edo period, and enjoyed continuous reception. A more detailed investigation is required to understand the commentary's circulation, but it is hardly a coincidence that the authors of most of the sources discussed above were warrior-officials.³⁸⁵ Moreover, they usually mention the commentary's title in stories set in contexts related to daimyo lords and retainers. Thus, despite the fact that the commentary was printed, it was mostly known among readers who were warrior-officials. This is not surprising for a text that was considered to be a military studies work or an unofficial history intended for daimyo lords.

6.2.1 The *Heike karui* as Reception of the *Heike hyōban*

In this section, I continue the discussion of the *Heike hyōban*'s reception in the Edo period, focusing on the *Heike karui* commentary of the early eighteenth century as a special case. It is the only work derived from the *Heike hyōban* that explores the content of the *Heike hyōban* and reacts to it in the form of a commentary. I have already shown several passages from it in Chapter 5. Here, I take up the *Heike karui*'s prefatory materials that provide details about the perception of the *Heike hyōban* in order to demonstrate that both the *Heike* and the *Heike hyōban* were the objects of scholarly debates and commentarial activity in the Edo period.

As the *Heike hyōban* itself lacks a preface, the preface of the *Heike karui* contains valuable and unique information about this text. Let us first examine the text of the preface by someone affiliated with the work's author.

Preface to the *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*:

³⁸⁵ It is known that extracts from the *Heike hyōban* related to archery were supplemented with additional notes and compiled together with the archery text *Yakazu seigisho* 矢数精義書. This fact also shows that Edo-period warriors were the primary readership of the *Heike hyōban*, that and they used it for a variety of purposes. For more information on this text see ADEAC: Digital Archive System, <https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11E0/WJJS06U/2321315100/2321315100100010/ht157810>.

The *Lost Sayings of Zhuangzi* says: “In the High Antiquity there were no histories and it is impossible to know about the rule of Yao and Shun. When Confucius wrote a text and the whole world knew about their [Yao and Shun’s] rule, they knew that it was a fable.” Perhaps, histories of later ages also have many fables. It is so not only in other lands, but in our State, too. In general, histories of Emperors, biographies of state rulers, all are fables of historiographers, and on the whole they make false into true and soft into tough. Those who discuss them in later ages also do not avoid this fault.

In the past, there was [a text called] the *Tale of the Heike*, a family history of Kiyomori, Taira Chancellor, and much of it was fables. In present age, a deluded man created a *Hyōban* [evaluative commentary] and it spread everywhere. Although its comments very much resemble wise sayings, they are incoherent fables, and learned people detest them.

My colleague, Itchiku koji,³⁸⁶ created [this] *Karui* and corrected its [*Hyōban*’s] mistakes. He let me add a preface to it and I say: Now, that which is said before others [in the world] is a fable. That which is said after others is useless.³⁸⁷ Ah, as the text of *Karui* is not useless, then it is a fable. What I write about it as its preface is also one of the fables. Will learned people approve it or not?

Hōei heijutsu (1706), ninth month of autumn, colleague and [humble] friend Setsugo koji wrote [this] in Tenjuan.³⁸⁸

平家物語評判瑕類序

莊周逸語曰上世無史唐虞之
治不可知也孔子作為書而天
下悉知其治則知寓言矣蓋後
世之史亦多寓言不特彼土為
然我
國亦爾大凡
帝王之史邦君之傳皆是史官
之寓言而概以虛為實以柔為

³⁸⁶ Itchiku koji 逸竹居士, “koji” means “lay monk,” or simply “mister.”

³⁸⁷ This sentence is modeled after the following quote from the essay *On Yueyang Tower* (Ch. *Yueyang louji*, J. *Gakuyōrō no ki* 岳陽樓記), written in 1046 by Fan Zhongyan (J. Han Chūen) 范仲淹 (989-1052 CE), minister of Northern Song and a writer: “Worry before others in the state worry, rejoice after others in the state rejoice” 先天下之憂而憂，後天下之樂而樂。

³⁸⁸ Tenjuan is a part of the Rinzai Zen Nanzenji temple complex in Kyoto. It is hard to determine whether the person who wrote this preface was actually affiliated with the Nanzenji temple, or whether it is merely a fictional location—possibly the writer’s residence. The words used in the preface, however, are similar to the vocabulary of Zen monks.

剛後世評之者亦不免其失也
昔年有平家物語者乃清盛平
相国公之家史而多是寓言也
今世妄男子作評判流行四方
其評也頗雖似格言然而無倫
之寓言而識者唾焉余社友逸
竹居士作為瑕類而繩其愆屬
余序之余曰今夫先天下之言
而言之者寓言也後天下之言
而言之者糟粕也於戲瑕類之
書不糟粕則寓言矣余題其端
亦寓言中之寓言也識者肯否
宝永丙戌秋九月同社友弟雪
沍居士拜書於天壽庵³⁸⁹

Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify and learn more about the author of this preface.

He defines the *Tale of the Heike* as “a family history of Kiyomori,” and criticizes the *Heike hyōban* for inferior content disliked by “learned people.” Interestingly, the author describes all kinds of historical texts, including texts by Confucius and imperial histories, as “fables” or didactic parables, but then draws a distinction between various “fables” in terms of quality. On one hand, Confucius, imperial histories, and the *Tale of the Heike* and its commentaries are all “fables” with fictional content; but, on the other hand, the *Heike hyōban* is criticized as unreasonable and incoherent fiction in contrast to other works with good didactic fiction.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1.

³⁹⁰ The literary scholar Inoue Yasushi notes that this preface is probably the earliest case of fiction perception, similar to that of *yomihon* historical novels. In general, Inoue claims that *gunsho* texts of the early Edo period influenced later works of the *yomihon* genre. See Inoue Yasushi, *Kinsei kankō gunshoron: kyōkun, goraku, kōshō*, 238-239.

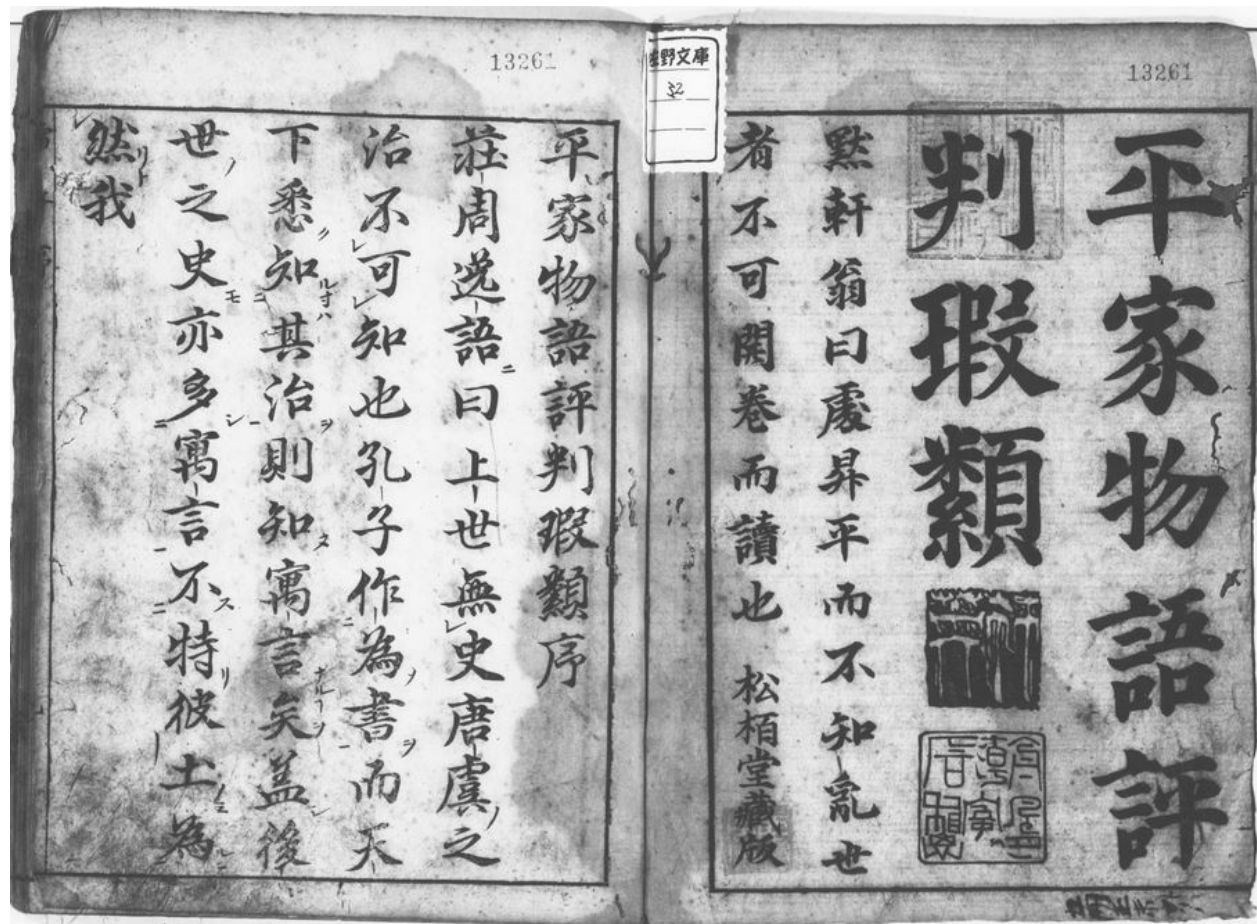


Fig. 5 Preface to the *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*³⁹¹

The following is the author's preface to the *Heike karui*:

Author's Preface

After recovering from an illness, I moved my bed under the shade of a paulownia tree, faced the moon, and loosened [my] collar. A cool wind was [moving] quietly, we had an informal discussion³⁹² and were about to be in unity with the mysterious Heaven.³⁹³ There was a guest who said to me: "The *Heike monogatari hyōban* has been transmitted by military scholars as a treasure. I heard that you have a habit of antiquarianism. Why don't you tell [us] about it?" Thereupon, I examined the market and sought this text. By the bamboo window, [sitting] at the clear table, I took a glance at it.

³⁹¹ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1. Niigata University Sano Bunko Collection, National Institute of Japanese Literature, http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_B_100148589.

³⁹² Literally, "talk while catching bugs/lice."

³⁹³ A Daoist expression from the *Zhuangzi*: state of forgetting all and being in unity with the Way.

Another day, I greeted the guest and said: “Alas, this *hyōban* is not a [proper] *hyōban*, and truly it does not greatly concern military scholars. Those who [want to] make readers fall into the fire pits of the Avici hell [would] only rely on this compilation. It is not rare that a hundred mistakes appear and have to be removed. To give a summary of the text, it merely [consists] of wise schemes considered military strategy. Moreover, it steals statements of Confucian scholars, plunders useless talks of Buddhists, and wishes to use them as an aid in ruling and ordering a family and state. Its words are correct, but its aim is low. Is it only harming military scholars? Also, it is [a work by] evil people [who harm] Confucian teaching.

Now, when I examine the ideas of its author(s), is he a person of high ability and deep emotions? As for principles, the discussion goes into minute details. As for the facts, he is extremely negligent. Common people say: “Principles are [the basis of] military strategy, are they not?” Now, how can one talk so lightly about military matters? What one calls facts and principles are exactly like two wings and a pair of wheels. It is impossible to abandon either one. When one lets a learner to be grounded in facts and roam in principles, then, as they say, he studies from basic level to an advanced diligently without stopping. One waits for principles and facts to be fully fused without obstruction, and then one will certainly aspire to reach the [state when] everything is without obstructions [i.e., full mastery].

I am afraid this text [*Hyōban*] will pull students of later ages into evil, and therefore I [will] select its passages and correct its errors. In the past, Lin Zihou³⁹⁴ read the *Discourses of the States*³⁹⁵ and wrote *Criticizing the Discourses of the States*.³⁹⁶ Who will say that my criticism is false?”

When the text was completed, the guest asked about its title. I said: “The jade [disc] of Zhao originally had no defects, [Lin] Xiangru deceived the king of Qin.”³⁹⁷ I have not yet finished saying it, and the guest rubbed his palms and laughed.

³⁹⁴ Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819 CE), Tang-period scholar.

³⁹⁵ *Guoyu* 國語 is a Chinese historical text about the Spring and Autumn period, which was compiled around the fourth century BCE.

³⁹⁶ *Feiguoyu* 非國語 is a critical commentary on *Guoyu*, in which Liu Zongyuan especially attacks instances of divination and prophecy as being incompatible with Confucian teachings.

³⁹⁷ The story is found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*, Biography 21). Lin Xiangru 藺相如, serving the King of the state of Zhao, managed to safely return the precious jade home. King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 (325 BCE-250 BCE) promised to give fifteen cities for it, but then broke his promise, taking it for nothing. To get the jade back, Lin Xiangru said that the jade had defects. When asked to show them, Lin Xiangru threatened to smash it. Thus, he deceived the king of Qin into returning the jade intact to its owner. Interestingly, the entire phrase from the preface, 趙璧本無瑕類相如謾誑秦王, is found in texts associated with Zen monks. It appears in the preface to *Biyanlu* 碧巖錄, which was published by Gozan monks, and in the 1540 diary *Shotōshū* 初渡集 by Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501-1579), a Japanese Rinzai Zen monk and diplomat. This evidence may indicate that the *Heike karui* commentary was indeed created by Zen monks or people well-versed in Zen texts. The *Heike karui*'s title,

Time

Year of Hōei kanoetora [Hōei 7, 1710], autumn, seventh month, propitious day,
Itchikusai wrote [this] frankly.

自叙

病餘移榻于桐陰邀月解襟涼
風徐々捫虱談將入寥天之一
有客謂予曰平家物語評判者
兵家者流傳以為重寶也聞子
有好古之癖曷不厝一語於茲
乎於是閱市求書竹窓淨几瞥
看覽為他日揖客曰嗚呼這箇³⁹⁸
評判者非評判而寔不罹兵家
之大厄會則使讀者陷于阿鼻
火坑者獨賴此編之存瑕疵百
出可刈削者不鮮矣要一書之
綱領不過於智術為兵法而已
猶且竊儒家之陳說掠穢氏之
腐談而欲資家國之治安則其
言是而其志鄙也豈徒害兵家
者流而已哉又名教之姦賊也
今審作者之意才高多感慨者
歟於理弁論分毫釐於事闊略
益甚為俗曰理兵法者也非耶³⁹⁹
夫兵豈易言乎曰事曰理猶兩
翼雙輪不可旁廢為使學者拋
於事游於理則所謂下學而上
達孳々乎不已俟理事無礙圓
融則忘企跂于事々無礙之至
域也予恐此編令後生引入于
邪魅也故拾其梗槩正彼訛謬

Collection of Flaws in the Evaluative Commentary on the Tale of the Heike, alludes to the defects in the jade disc and refers to mistakes found in the *Heike hyōban* commentary.

³⁹⁸ I am not sure that I read the semi-cursive form of the first character in this line correctly.

³⁹⁹ My reading of the semi-cursive form of the first character in this line may be incorrect.

往昔柳子厚誦國語而著非國
語予筆誅孰云誣為書成客問
其題予曰趙璧本無瑕類相如
謾誑秦王言未既客撫掌而哂
時
寶永庚寅歲秋七月穀旦逸竹
齋 直叙⁴⁰⁰

The author sharply criticizes the *Heike hyōban*, justifying his own commentary, which is meant to fix its mistakes. Describing it as a harmful compilation of Confucian and Buddhist ideas with ingenious schemes presented as military strategy, the author notes the imbalance between correct words and low aim, and also between detailed reasonable discussion and weak factual basis. The author also sees his own task in correcting the mistakes and keeping later readers from falling into trouble. Interestingly, the *Heike karui* commentary was apparently commissioned by the anonymous “guest.” The author—perhaps a warrior well-versed in military studies—who wrote a *hyōban* commentary himself as noted in Appendix C, was likely asked by a higher-level warrior-official to produce the *Heike karui*.

The following introductory notes are a more detailed analysis of the *Heike hyōban* by the author of the *Heike karui*:

Introductory notes (*hanrei*)

- This *Hyōban* author’s name is still unknown. Perhaps he did not record it, having some hindrance in society. The text from beginning to end was not written by a single person. It seems that the text was collated by one person after assembling writings of several people. In many places, discussion is inconsistent.
- *Hyōban* has both correct parts and also parts with much bias. Noticing even minor details, in many cases it falls into [excessive] scrutiny. When one considers the author’s mind, very often he mistakenly thinks of strict and detailed examination [of faults] as

⁴⁰⁰ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1.

wisdom, and understands bravery as restraint and cold manner. He consistently considers wisdom to be the pinnacle of military strategy, and discusses ethics carelessly. Now, I do not evaluate [the text] fully following the table of contents. I do not discuss good parts of the *Hyōban*, and add [comments] to parts omitted [in the *Hyōban*].

- I correct mistakes made in quotations from Confucian and Buddhist texts and records, [the *Hyōban* author's] mistaken views of the meaning of the original text [the *Tale of the Heike*], and wrong explanations based on biased opinion.

- Quoted materials and records, *Tada no kaden* (*The Tada Family Transmission*), *Hidehira Gikei no montai* (*A Dialogue between Hidehira and Yoshitsune*), *Noritsune Kagekiyo montō* (*Questions and Answers of Noritsune and Kagekiyo*), *Genjō heiwa* (*Warrior Talks of the Old Man Genjō*), *Kiichi kaden* (*The Kiichi Family Transmission*), *Sumiyoshi Masanaga kōbun* (*Thoughts and Writings of Sumiyoshi Masanaga*) and other transmitted records and lecture notes are all fiction. I think many of these records are fabrications based on the *Azuma kagami*. They are not ancient words.

- It [the *Hyōban*] discusses things not found in ancient times such as camp, army formation, as well as gunpowder, appliances, etc. In general, everybody suspects things that do not match the time period. I criticize them in various places.

- [Hyōban author's indications of] matters at the end of *Hyōban* [comments] that are omitted out of fear and aversion towards mean and foolish people [among readers], and also [his indications of] matters that remain in orally transmitted secret records, they are false and decorative. When one considers a section's meaning, things that are [allegedly] left in oral transmission are [actually] contained within the entire text of the *Hyōban*. Other "oral transmissions" for the most part do not have [real] oral transmissions.

- [According to the *Hyōban*], the main idea of military studies is in the strategy of generals, and it is difficult to find a [good] general. This principle is seen as essential [in the *Hyōban*], but it is not kept consistently at all.

- Now, I think that since the *Tale of the Heike* is originally a history of low-level officials⁴⁰¹ and a popular [vernacular] text,⁴⁰² it does not deserve addition of *hyō* 評 comments; but, because these comments already exist from before, now I write additional notes. Upon careful consideration, this is also a kind of history. Creating a *hyō* 評

⁴⁰¹ *Hikan no shi* 稗官の史, a history written by low-level officials in charge of gathering popular stories and customs—that is, unofficial, popular, legendary history.

⁴⁰² *Toen no saku* 兎園の策 (or *toensatsu* 兎園冊), literally "a work of the Rabbit Garden," is a simple work written in vernacular. The word refers to the garden of a Han prince Liu Wu (劉武, ca. 184-144 BCE), known as Prince Xiao of Liang 梁孝王, who was a famous patron of literary arts and whose collection included texts written in the local dialect (Ch. *liyu*, J. *riyo* 俚語).

commentary is not an easy task. It has many kinds of content. First, it is hard to achieve unless one is well-informed and accomplished in letters. Second, without being fair in one's thoughts, one falls into praise and censure or partiality. Third, one should create a fair critical discussion disregarding punishments in this world and not looking at divine mysteries in the other world, but thoughts of this *Hyōban*'s author(s) do not even go beyond midpoint [on the scale of objectivity]. Alas, how thoughtless!

凡例

一 此^{ヒヤウバン} 評^{セイ} 判^ジ の作者^{イマダツマヒラカナラス} 姓^{ハミカ} 字^{シルサ} 未^ス 審^ス 但世に^{ハミカ} 憚^{シルサ} り有^ス て不^ス 記^ス
 歟^フ 一^フ 部^{シヨハジメオハリ} の書^{ブンシヤウ} 始^{チヨジュツ} 終^ス の文^ス 章^ス 一^ス 人^ス の著^ス 述^ス にあ^ス らず数^ス 人^ス
 の作^{クワイシウ} を会^{ノチケウガウ} 集^ス して後^ス 校^ス 考^ス 一^ス 人^ス の手^ス より出^ス ると見^ス え
 たり^{ギロン} 議^{イツケツ} 論^ス 不^ス 一^ス 決^ス 処^ス 多^ス し^ス 403

一 評^{ヒヤウバンタマ} 判^{セイ} 正^シ しき処^イ も有^ス り又^ス 私^ス 意^ス 多^ス き処^ス も有^ス り
 瑣^サ 細^{サイ} なる処^ス 迄^ス 心^ス を付^ス て穿^{センサク} 鑿^{ヲチ} に落^ス たる処^ス 多^ス し
 作^{シンシヤク} 者^ス の心^ス を斟^カ 酌^{サツ} するに苛^チ 察^{ニンハク} を智^ス とし忍^ス 薄^ス を
 勇^{ユウ} なりと心得^{アヤマリ} たる誤^{モツハ} 甚^チ 多^エ し専^ス ら智^ス 恵^ス を以^ス て
 兵^{キョク} 法^{トク} の極^{タン} とし徳^ソ を談^{リヤク} する事^ス 疎^ス 略^ス なり今^ス
 目^{モクロク} 録^ス によ^ス っ^ス て逐^{チクイツ} 一^ス 評^ス するに^ス はあ^ス らず評^ス 判^ス よ
 ろしき処^ス は不^{ロンセス} 論^ス 又^ス 略^ス する所^ス に^ス は筆^{フデ} を加^ス ふ

一 儒^{ジュシヤク} 釈^{キロク} 記^{ゴンク} 録^ヒ の言^{ホンシヨ} 句^イ を引^ミ く処^ス 本^ス 書^ス の意^ス 味^ス を見^ス
 誤^{アヤマ} り又^シ は私^イ 意^ス を以^ス て邪^{ジャ} 解^ゲ する処^ス は其^ス 誤^ス りを
 正^{タマ} し定^{サダ} む

一 引^{キロク} き用^タ 類^{ダノ} 記^カ 録^{デン} 多^{ヒデヒラ} 田^ギ 家^{ケイ} 傳^ノ 秀^{モン} 平^{タイ} 義^ス 經^ス 問^ス 対^ス 教^ス 經^ス
 景^{カゲ} 清^{キヨ} 問^{モン} 答^{タウ} 源^{ゲン} 成^{ジャウ} 翁^{ヲウ} 兵^{エイ} 話^ワ 鬼^キ 一^{イチ} 家^カ 傳^{デン} 住^{スミヨシ} 吉^マ 昌^サ 長^{ナガ}
 考^{コウ} 文^{ブン} 等^{トウ} 其^{ソノ} 餘^ヨ の傳^{デン} 記^キ 聞^キ 書^カ 皆^キ 寓^カ 言^{ミナグウ} なり今^{ゲン} 按^{イマ} に^{アンズル}

⁴⁰³ The word “collation, examination and comparison” is not written as *kyōgō* 校考, and the usual characters are *kyōgō* 校合.

コレ ラ キ ヲ アツマカミ シュツニウ ギ サ
是等の記多くは東鑑によつて出入し擬作す
コダイ ゴ
古代の語にあらず

一 エイヂンコウ ゴ クワヤク キ カイ
宮陣行伍并ニ火薬器械等上代になき物を出し
キ ロン フヨソ シ ダイ ソウワウ タレ ウタカヒ
て議論す凡時代不相應の事は誰も疑なきに
ソ ヒ ハン
非らず猶其の所 / \ にて批判す

一 スヘ グ イ フソ リヤクシ ラ
評判の末に必小人愚人を忌み恐れて略之又
ク デンジユ キ ノコ イツハ カザ
は口傳授記に残すなど云ふ事は偽り飾りた
シヤウ フン イ カンガユ テンジユ ク デン ノコ
る事也一章の文意を考るに傳授口傳に残
ソウタイ コモ ソノ ヨ
せる処は評判惣体の内に籠れり其餘の口
ヲ、カタ
傳と云ふは大形口傳なき事なり

一 シヤウ グンホウ エガタシ
兵法の大意は大將の軍法にして一將は難得と
シウ シ ヨウ シカレ シ ジウマツタクソナハラズ
いふ宗旨を要とす然とも始終不全備

一 グハンライ ヒ クワン シ トエン
今按に平家物語は元來稗官の史兎園の
サク ヒヤウ クワ サキ
策なれば評を加ふるにたらぬ物なれども前
スデ ユヘ ソコ ツラ / \
に已に此評ある故に今又筆を添るなり 倩
シ イツテイ ヒヤウ ゴ
案に是もまた史の一体なりそれ評語作る
ヲモムキシナ ケンモン ヒ
事たやすからず其趣品多し第一見聞博
チヤウゼス ナリカタシ シン シ コウヘイ
ろく文字に不長しては難成第二心思公平な
ホウヘン ヘン バ ヲツ メイ
らざれば褒貶あるひは偏頗に落る第三明
ケイヘキ ユウ シンクワイ ミ
に刑辟をかへりみず幽に神怪を不見して
ヒ ハン コウロン
批判の公論をなすべきに此評判の作者思ひ
ナカバ ア、ウ クワツ
半にも不出呼迂闊なるかな 404

As follows from the above text, even in the early eighteenth century the author or compiler of the *Heike hyōban* commentary could not be identified precisely. The author of the

⁴⁰⁴ *Heike monogatari hyōban karui*, vol. 1.

Heike karui does not mention Yui Shōsetsu or any other name, only suggesting that some “hindrance” was a reason for anonymity. It is noteworthy that the *Heike hyōban* is viewed as a compilation from writings of several people. This suggestion is plausible: the commentary is shaped as a group discussion about the *Heike*, or as a skilful imaginary imitation of such a debate. The case of the *Teikanhyō* commentary discussed in Chapter 7 indicates that group commentarial projects were a common practice.

The author of the *Heike karui* acknowledges that the *Heike hyōban* contains good sections which are not corrected in the *Heike karui*. The targets for criticism are excessively biased opinions, quotes from spurious texts that are made to appear as ancient records, and anachronisms. The phrase, “there is an oral transmission” (*kuden ari* 口傳あり)—found at the end of many unfinished passages of the *Heike hyōban*, suggesting the existence of secret information transmitted only to select disciples in person—is described as false, since the *Heike karui*’s author believes that such secret transmissions are non-existent for this text, and that in some cases the missing “secret” information is found in another section inside the *Heike hyōban*.

The last paragraph is very important for understanding how the commentator saw the *Tale of the Heike*, the *Heike hyōban*, and his own commentary. The point that the *Tale of the Heike*, being an unofficial popular history, does not deserve any evaluative (*hyō*) comments, brings attention to the fact that it was not seen as an authoritative or official historical text worthy of scholarly commentary. The addition of *hyō* comments was mainly reserved for histories with a more official reputation, such as the *Taiheiki*. This point supports one of my claims that the creation of the *Heike hyōban* and other *Heike*-related commentaries contributed to shifting the *Tale of the Heike* from the category of Buddhist and courtly historical tales, to the set of historical and military texts (*gunsho*) perceived as suitable for scholarly discussion and

investigation. Despite harsh criticism of the *Heike hyōban*, the author of the *Heike karui* attaches great importance to evaluative comments that, in his opinion, are difficult to compose, as they require literary ability, erudition, impartiality, and independence in expressing critical opinions. According to him, the *Heike hyōban*'s writers did not attain a high level of objectivity and quality, and this is the reason for him to create the *Heike karui* with corrections.

All of these prefatory texts contain rare evidence that helps explain how the *Heike hyōban* was seen, and what was expected from the evaluative commentaries by some of the scholars in the early eighteenth century. The creation of commentaries for educational purposes is a sign of scholarly activity, and shows that the *Heike hyōban* was a sufficiently prominent work for later writers and scholars to engage with and to discuss the content of. Sharp disagreement also indicates that after the seventeenth century, commentaries of the *hyōban* type lost some of their validity without being discarded or neglected completely. From the discussion of early Edo military studies schools in earlier chapters, it is evident that criticism of other schools was an integral part of military studies, and that the case of the *Heike karui* may belong to this category, too. It is likely that attitudes toward the *Heike hyōban*, for example, depended not so much on the time period as on the specific group of people engaging with it. In the author's preface to the *Heike karui*, the "guest" at whose request the author studied the text and decided to write a commentary, suggests that "the *Heike monogatari hyōban* has been transmitted by military scholars as a treasure." This view is then rejected by the author. This shows that there was a diversity of opinions about the *Heike hyōban*, even among contemporaries.

After considering the reception of the *Heike hyōban* in the Edo period, let us now approach the issue of the circulation of this commentary. Where was it kept in the Edo period?

Library and archive catalogues of texts contain valuable information about places where the *Heike hyōban* could be found as a material object and the networks of people who had access to it.

6.3 Circulation of the *Heike hyōban* Commentary in the Edo Period

It is impossible to trace all people and institutions that came in contact with the *Heike hyōban*, as evidence is lacking, extant evidence is scattered and hard to locate, and previous research on the work's circulation is almost nonexistent. Here, I provide several examples of the archives in which the text was kept. A far more systematic and comprehensive investigation of the catalogues and indices will no doubt reveal additional sites where the text circulated. Even the limited set presented here, however, covers the representative contexts in which the text was read, studied, or at least stored.

6.3.1 Manjuin Temple

Let us first consider the book catalogue of Manjuin 曼殊院 Temple, a Tendai Buddhist institution in north-eastern Kyoto.⁴⁰⁵ Both in terms of quantity and quality, and also variety of materials, its archive is exceptionally rich and vast, containing Buddhist texts as well as non-canonical popular works. Being a *monzeki* 門跡, a temple headed by an imperial prince as its abbot, it had close relations with generations of the imperial family. The Manjuin temple was a

⁴⁰⁵ The temple's origins go back to the ninth century, and it changed its location several times. It was called Manjuin in the early twelfth century, and it was moved to its present location in north-eastern Kyoto in 1656. The temple also functioned as superintendant for the Kitano Tenmangū shrine since mid-tenth century until the Meiji Restoration. Even after the cancellation of its *monzeki* status in 1871, the temple has continued to function. See Arai Eizō, "Manjuin to sono gakumon ryakki," *Kokugo Kokubun* 47 (January 1978): 98-99.

prominent institution, and its abbots were Tendai heads (*tendai zasu* 天台座主) who also held other important posts, such as a superintendant of the Kitano Tenmangū shrine. In the seventeenth century, heads of the Manjuin temple were two imperial princes, Ryōjo 良恕 (1574-1643) and Ryōshō 良尚 (1623-1693), who embodied the top-level cultivation and erudition of the early Edo period and also contributed to making Manjuin a major centre of scholarship and culture with an extensive collection of texts of various kinds, including a large quantity of popular printed texts such as storybooks written in *kana* (*kanazōshi* 仮名草子) and comic texts.⁴⁰⁶

The temple had a long tradition of cultural activities under illustrious monks, but one of the most flourishing periods in its history was the early Edo period, which coincided with the overall cultural revival, especially that of classical courtly arts and letters. The revival actually began in the late sixteenth century under Emperor Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, r. 1586-1611), and was led by people close to him. One of them was Prince Ryōjo, the younger brother of Emperor Go-Yōzei. He excelled in calligraphy, Japanese and Chinese classics, and *waka* and *renga* poetry, and he frequently visited the court to take part in its activities. The education of the future head of the Manjuin temple included calligraphy; readings and lectures on classics like the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (ca. 905 CE); and the *Analects* (when a child was about eight years old, by traditional count). Studies of Buddhist texts would be pursued when he became a monk. Far from leading a leisurely life, the heads of Manjuin like Ryōjo had extremely busy lives from childhood onwards, and in addition to their main duty of administering the temple's affairs, they served as superintendants of the Kitano Tenmangū shrine, as monks for protecting the emperor (*gojisō* 護持僧), and as assistants and

⁴⁰⁶ *Manjuin zōsho mokuroku*, ed. Satake Akihiro (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1984), 328-329.

advisors to the emperor.⁴⁰⁷ Their cultural and literary work was an additional and inherent part of their daily lives.

The *Manjuin Collection Catalogue* (*Manjuin zōsho mokuroku* 曼殊院蔵書目録) in four volumes was compiled around the 1720s and mostly consists of texts produced prior to 1700.⁴⁰⁸ The catalogue thus lists texts found in the archive at the time of the twenty-ninth head, Ryōshō, in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Apart from temple documents, the collection contained 800 items (3000 volumes) of Buddhist texts, and 2200 items (13000 volumes) of other non-Buddhist texts, such as Japanese and Chinese classics, literature, history, etc.⁴⁰⁹

The collection of notes (*kikigaki* 聞書) made by the twenty-eighth head, Ryōjo, shows what topics interested the prince at the head of the Manjuin temple during the transition to the Edo period. In these notes, he recorded what he heard from others, along with textual excerpts from readings. This valuable source reveals the wide scope of interests of this elite monk. These ranged from Buddhism, Chinese learning (*kangaku* 漢学), *kanshi* and *waka* poetry, *renga* poetry, and past usages and customs (*yūsoku kojitsu* 有職故実), to magic spells (*majinai* まじない), other popular beliefs (*zokushin* 俗信), and popular medicine (*minkan'yaku* 民間薬).⁴¹⁰ Much attention is given to *waka* and poetry gatherings (*utakai* 歌会), but the notes also contain irregular *waka* (*seitōtekina waka de nai mono* 正統的な和歌でないもの) such as Buddhist moral poems (*dōka* 道歌), didactic poems (*kyōkunka* 教訓歌), comic *waka* (*kyōka* 狂歌), and also magic spell *waka* (*jushitekina waka* 呪詞的な和歌) for various occasions (e.g., a spell for

⁴⁰⁷ Arai Eizō, “Manjuin to sono gakumon ryakki,” 103.

⁴⁰⁸ *Manjuin zōsho mokuroku*, 333.

⁴⁰⁹ Arai Eizō, “Manjuin to sono gakumon ryakki,” 103.

⁴¹⁰ Ochi Mitoko, “Ryōjo kikigaki no sekai,” *Kokugo Kokubun* 47 (January 1978): 1.

swelling or stopping bleeding). Furthermore, it includes spells unrelated to waka, such as writing specific characters on one's palm to get divine help from various misfortunes.⁴¹¹ Even if such information had no practical value in daily life and was recorded out of plain interest and curiosity, it is nevertheless evident that a noble monk of high rank in the early Edo period had a wide range of interests not limited to Buddhism and elite courtly culture.⁴¹²

The presence of the *Heike hyōban* commentary in this temple's catalogue is not trivial or random. It suggests that the text in fact circulated among some members of the elite affiliated with the court rather than the bakufu, who potentially had interest in readings of the *Heike* from the military studies perspective.⁴¹³ The fact of possession, however, does not necessarily mean that the text was actually read by its owner, and it is not clear who exactly had access to the library. Unfortunately, details, such as the context in which the commentary was read, remain unclear. The presence of the *Heike hyōban* commentary, however, shows that the collector had interest in such works and considered it a worthy part of his comprehensive library.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 8-9.

⁴¹² These facts tie in well with a similar interest of medieval and early modern daimyo lords and warriors, not only in historical and philosophical texts, but also in divination and spells that remained a part of military studies content. The wide range of interests of premodern elites appears to be a common phenomenon, and not only in Japan. For example, European medieval anthologies, aiming to edify as well as entertain, often contain diverse texts ranging widely in genre and thematic, from the religious, didactic, and political, to the secular, satirical, and humorous. Courtly, ribald, religious, amorous, moral, ludic, and political texts are typically and deliberately placed side by side in these anthologies, and this surprising format was apparently expected by medieval readers, including noblewomen. There are examples of expensive, elegantly illuminated manuscripts with such varied contents, produced in France around 1300, that retained interest for several centuries and were owned in the mid-fifteenth century by an aristocratic woman. In fact, the reading tastes of aristocratic ladies in France and England included both courtly romances and naughty fabliaux stories, often with bourgeois and peasant characters engaged in scabrous behaviour. This shows that stories about commoners were popular among elite readers, and should not be viewed narrowly as "commoner literature." The literary scholar Carter Revard mentions that Isabella, Queen of England, in 1327 "borrowed books from the Privy and Great Wardrobes including copies of the beast-epic *Renard* (notably raunchy) and the courtly romances of *Perceval*, *Meraugis et Sado*, a French translation of Vegetius on military matters, and the Old Testament in French" (276). In general, noble women and men were active readers and auditors of both naughty and nice contents of such manuscript anthologies. For details, see Carter Revard, "From French 'fabliau manuscripts' and MS Harley 2253 to the *Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales*," *Medium Aevum* 69, no. 2 (2000): 261-278.

⁴¹³ Heian-era nobility, especially families such as the Ōe, also had interest in military history and strategy, and texts of this kind, including Chinese military classics, were studied and transmitted since the Heian period. Thus, a similar interest among some members of the early-Edo nobility was a continuation of earlier practices.

The *Manjuin Collection Catalogue*, compiled in the 1720s, lists texts under a number of categories (each with many subcategories), such as: Buddhist, Confucian, and Japanese compilations. There is a specific heading, “*gunki*” 軍記, under which the *Heike hyōban* is listed, next to the *Heike* itself and another commentary, *Heike monogatari shō*. In the same category are also found medieval works such as the *Hōgen Heiji monogatari*, the *Taiheiki*, works about the Warring States era (e.g. the *Taikōki*), the *Shinchōki*, and early-Edo texts about conflicts of the first half of the seventeenth century (e.g. *Ōsaka monogatari* and *Shimabaraki*).⁴¹⁴ For a library of an imperial *monzeki* temple, the collection of *gunki* works is unexpectedly substantial. Another late-Edo catalogue of 1865, the *Catalogue of the Manjuin Prince’s Collection* (*Manjuin no miya zōsho mokuroku* 曼殊院宮藏書目錄), lists texts by the box, and the *Heike*—together with two commentaries, the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike monogatari shō*—are found in the same box along with other texts such as the *Soga monogatari* and *Gikeiki*.⁴¹⁵

6.3.2 The Catalogue of the Imaōji Family of Medical *Otogishū*

Another location in which the *Heike hyōban* commentary is found, more expectedly than in the temple of an imperial prince, is in the collection of an *otogishū*, a person of erudition who was well-versed in arts and texts, and who kept a noble person company. According to the often-cited description of *otogishū* given in 1650 in the *Collection of Teitoku’s Writings* (*Teitoku bunshū* 貞徳文集),⁴¹⁶ their activities involved songs and music, medicine and divination,

⁴¹⁴ *Manjuin zōsho mokuroku*, 135.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 282.

⁴¹⁶ The text was written by the early-Edo *haikai* poet and scholar Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571-1654).

readings of the *Taiheiki*, *Azuma kagami*, and various *sōshi* 草子 storybooks. The Imaōji 今大路 family is an example of such an *otogishū* primarily dealing with medicine.⁴¹⁷

Their text catalogue clarifies how *otogishū* functioned and managed texts in the early-to-mid Edo period. The catalogue lists 448 items, many of them manuscripts of the late Muromachi to early Edo period, and also published works up to the middle of the Edo period. Perhaps a separate catalogue existed for *kanbun* texts, but all the works listed are Japanese, and they show what texts belonged to the educational background of the *otogishū*: *Nihongi* with commentaries, poetry, *monogatari*, *noh*, *setsuwa*, historical works, *gunki*, texts on past customs and usages, etc.⁴¹⁸ Texts in the collection were likely received as gifts or rewards from noble families whom they served both for artistic performances and medical services, as it was customary to give rewards of texts, images or other gifts to celebrate a successful recovery. Thus, the texts were naturally accumulating in the archive and were not collected out of necessity. The literary scholar Fukuda Yasunori shows that *noh* texts, for example, were transmitted in the family as other valuable objects, such as gold, swords, and tea vessels.⁴¹⁹ It may be conjectured that the texts listed in the catalogue were also passed down from one generation to another as family treasures. The status of texts as “objects” may also suggest that the texts were not necessarily read at all, or that their content was less significant than the personal links and interaction with artists and nobles who offered them.

⁴¹⁷ Fukuda Yasunori, “Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan kyōu shōoku zō *Imaōjike shomokuroku* ni tsuite: otogi no ishi no zōsho,” *Geinōshi kenkyū* 129 (April 1995): 57.

The Manase 曲直瀬 family was active both in medicine and arts since the late medieval era. Changing their name to Imaōji, this family (together with several other families, such as the Ogasawara, Ise and others) also served as *otogishū* of the Tokugawa shogunal family.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 58. Interestingly, this catalogue contains few works related to medicine, the main profession of the family.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 59.

The *otogishū* were part of the shogunal or daimyo circle—they had the privilege to attend performances and lectures for the shogun, and thus had to be well-versed in the arts and texts. Moreover, as storytelling companions and personal doctors, they apparently needed to know *gunki*-related information—especially family genealogies and *gunki* texts of the Muromachi era—since many of them are also listed in the Imaōji catalogue. In some cases, their familiarity with *gunki* and similar texts allowed medical *otogishū* to create *gunki* texts of their own, following earlier models.⁴²⁰

Many texts listed in the catalogue are supplied with notes that explain their provenance, that is, people who gave the texts to the family. The list of these sources shows the extensive network of connections the Imaōji had as *otogishū* doctors, which covers most of the early-Edo cultural circles: the imperial palace, the shogunal library (*Suruga gobunko* 駿河御文庫), the scholar Hayashi Gahō, the Mito daimyo Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), the Reizei family, and others. In addition, the archive was not exclusively accessed by the Imaōji, but served as a kind of “private library” for nobles who were their acquaintances. For example, the diary of the noble Yamashina Tokitsune 山科言経 (1543-1611) contains entries about borrowing texts from the collection, and even about returning them after adding his own notes.⁴²¹

The person who presented the most texts to the Imaōji archive is Hayashi Gahō, the third son of Hayashi Razan. In fact, texts from him are mainly Japanese classics, such as *waka* poetry and commentaries on the *Tale of Genji*. This circumstance suggests that the narrow categories of “Confucian scholar” and “doctor” do not reflect the actual wide range of knowledge and interests these people had. In the early Edo period, both Confucian scholars and *otogishū* were involved in

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 61.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 62.

diverse intellectual activities and were required to possess various kinds of knowledge and skills.⁴²²

Let us examine how the *Heike* commentaries are listed in the catalogue. As expected, the *Heike* is found in the same row after the *Hōgen monogatari* and *Heiji monogatari*, and before the *Genpei jōsuiki*, *Gikeiki*, and *Azuma kagami*. The three works related to the *Heike* are listed together side by side: the *Heike* manuscript in twelve volumes, another variant in twenty volumes, and the printed *Heike hyōban* commentary in twenty-two volumes. The presence of this commentary in the collection is a valuable clue that helps situate the work in the intellectual context of the early Edo period.⁴²³

Another significant detail is the category of texts in which the *Heike* is placed, showing the compiler's view of the work's nature. Some entries, though unfortunately not all, are marked with one or two characters indicating the type of text, such as history/chronicle (*rekishi* 歴史, *reki* 暦), dictionary (*jisho* 字書), etiquette/customs (*reigi* 礼儀), military text (*heisho* 兵書, *hei* 兵), Shinto text (*shinsho* 神書), tale (*monogatari* 物語), poetry (*uta* 歌, *shi* 詩), etc. Texts such as the *Hōgen monogatari* and the *Soga monogatari* are marked as “tale,” together with the *Eiga monogatari*, for example. The *Heike* is not marked by any character, but it was most likely also viewed as belonging to the same type.⁴²⁴ The *Genpei jōsuiki*, now seen as a variant of the *Heike*, was marked as “history/chronicle” (*rekishi* 歴史) in the catalogue, as was the *Taiheiki* (*reki* 暦), the *Ōninki* (*rekishi* 歴史), more recent works like the *Shinchōki* (*rekishi* 歴史), and more ancient

⁴²² It is not clear if this situation was a break away from the narrow specialization of the pre-Edo period, or its continuation. It seems that even in the late medieval period, erudition in many fields was welcomed.

⁴²³ The *Taiheiki* and related works, such as *Taiheiki shō* in ten volumes and the *Taiheiki hyōban* in thirty-five volumes, are also listed together next to each other.

⁴²⁴ There is a noticeable correlation between a work's title and its assigned category: titles ending in *monogatari* are marked as “tale,” and titles ending in *ki* 記 tend to be marked as “history.”

ones like the *Ōkagami* (*rekishi* 曆史) and the *Nihongi* (*rekishi* 曆史). The category of “gunki” is absent, although several texts on military matters are marked as “military text,” such as the *Sanryakushō* 三略抄, a book on archery, and the *Kōyō gunkan*.⁴²⁵ Thus, medieval texts that are considered “gunki” according to modern genre classification would have been considered “tales” or “histories.”

6.3.3 Domain Schools and Military Studies Education

The civil and the martial (*bunbu* 文武) were the two pillars of warrior-official education in the Edo period, both in theory and in practice. Institutions and archives involved in warrior-official education are among the most essential and obvious locations in which one expects to find the *Heike* commentaries and other texts related to medieval war tales. Among such institutions, domain schools (*hankō* 藩校) occupy a prominent place as educational centres for warriors in each domain, and they were especially developed and widespread across Japan in the mid- and late-Edo period. Finding the *Heike hyōban* commentary in a domain school library means that the text was still potentially read as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and not only in the early Edo period; its readers still included the circle of warrior-officials around the daimyo lord, such as his family and retainers of various levels. The commentary was at some point selected to be part of the school library, which means that it continued to be viewed as a text with valid educational and entertaining content worthy of study by warrior-class students.

⁴²⁵ *Kōyō gunkan* is listed together with its commentary, *Kōyō gunkan hyōban* 甲陽軍鑑評判, published in five volumes. Thus, commentaries of the *hyōban* type were listed for a “history” work like the *Taiheiki*, for a “military text” like *Kōyō gunkan*, and for the unmarked *Heike*, which was likely seen as a “tale.”

The *Heike hyōban* commentary was indeed kept in several *hankō* libraries across Japan.⁴²⁶ For example, the *Keikokan* 稽古館 (later renamed *Kōdōkan* 弘道館) in the Hikone domain is one such school library, which presents an interesting case that merits a more detailed discussion. The school was founded in 1799 by the twelfth daimyo lord, Ii Naonaka 井伊直中 (1766-1831), of the Ii family governing the domain since the beginning of the Edo period. The family belonged to the *fudai daimyo* (hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa), and was one of the four families whose members were appointed to the position of chief minister (*tairō* 大老) of the Tokugawa shogunate. The subjects in their domain school's curriculum were Confucian studies, Japanese studies (National Learning of Motoori Norinaga), penmanship, military studies (Kamiizumi-ryū 上泉流), etiquette (Ogasawara-ryū 小笠原流), astronomy, mathematics, medicine, martial arts, horsemanship, and gunnery.⁴²⁷ The first head of the school was Miura Motonae 三浦元苗, a chief retainer of the domain and also a disciple of Motoori Norinaga. In 1862, the school closed and re-opened, introducing new subjects: Dutch studies (Rangaku 蘭学), Western medicine and military studies, mathematics, and geography. After reforms, the school was closed in 1872, becoming a middle school in 1876 and a high school since 1948, with only a single lecture hall remaining from the original *hankō*.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ I have not conducted a comprehensive search in many *hankō* library catalogues, but valuable information can be gathered from the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, an online database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature (http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_W_6973). Among fifty-three texts of the commentary in the database, there are several with seals of ownership indicating that they were once stored in a *hankō* library. For example, the Kishū (Kii) and Sendai domain schools definitely kept copies. In addition, some seals are less clear, but likely point to schools in the Sakura and Akizuki (Chikuzen) domains. Even this evidence shows that the commentary was found in *hankō* collections in different parts of Japan.

⁴²⁷ Ibuki Satoru, "Kaisetsu," in *Hikone-han Kōdōkan shoseki mokuroku*, ed. Asakura Haruhiko, Shoshi shomoku shirīzu 70 (Yumani Shobō, 2005), 375.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 379.

The school's collection, which included also the daimyo lord's library, consisted of as many as 1500 works in more than 20,000 volumes, according to the catalogue of 1844. After the Meiji Restoration and the school's closure, many texts were scattered or lost, and some are now stored in a local university, a museum, and the Diet Library in Tokyo. The catalogue of 1854, *Hikone hankō Kōdōkan shoseki mokuroku* 彦根藩校弘道館書籍目録, arranged in the traditional *iroha* order, contains 1243 titles of Japanese and Chinese texts. Many Confucian texts of Neo-Confucian as well as Ogyū Sorai's schools, and National Learning texts (the *Kojiki* with commentaries, the *Six National Histories*, and poetry) were part of the collection. The Ii were a known warrior family, and the library contained a sizable set of military texts—such as the *Seven Military Classics*, the *Essential Instructions on Warrior Techniques* (*Heijutsu yōkun* 兵術要訓), the *Collection of Essentials of Military Strategy* (*Heihō gun'yōshū* 兵法軍要集), and the *Warrior Mirror* (*Heikyō* 兵鏡)—in addition to various texts on armour and the past practices of warrior houses. Among the works listed is a set of more than ten “popular military stories” (*tsūzoku gundan sho* 通俗軍談書), that is, Japanese translations of Chinese historical texts published in the mid-Edo period, such as the *Popular Edition of the Record of the Three States* (*Tsūzoku Sangokushi* 通俗三国志) or the *Popular Edition of Military Stories of the Twelve Courts* (*Tsūzoku Jūnichō gundan* 通俗十二朝軍談). These works not only relate events of Chinese history, but also depict characters' psychology and grand battle scenes, and describe ingenious political and military stratagems in clear Japanese. As suggested by the literary scholar Ibuki Satoru, these works were primarily read not as historical texts about Chinese history, but as texts of military studies.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 392.

The *Heike hyōban* in nine volumes, and also the *Heike* itself in twelve volumes, are listed in this school's catalogue.⁴³⁰ The above hypothesis about Chinese historical texts applies equally well to this commentary: it was read not out of abstract historical interest in past events, but as a practical military, political and ethical text with evaluations of words and deeds, and discussion of behind-the-scenes plots. Compared with Chinese military histories, this commentary on the *Heike* has the advantage of discussing events that took place in Japan in the local Genpei conflict, to which many warrior families tied their fame, and in which they saw the origins of warriors' prominent role in state affairs.

The Hikone school example is certainly not a unique random case, but a rather typical phenomenon. Above, I mentioned several other *hankō* schools that held the *Heike hyōban* commentary in their libraries. The Shōheizaka Academy (Shōheizaka gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所, 1790-1870), the central bakufu educational institution in Edo—although mostly known for its Neo-Confucian emphasis—also kept the *Heike hyōban* commentary in its library, and even published own editions of military studies texts such as the *Seven Military Classics*, with commentaries in the late Edo period.⁴³¹ The Shōheizaka Academy was the influential model for other *hankō* schools, and it functioned as an institution for educating students from across Japan, who later became the staff of local domain schools. Undoubtedly, libraries of other *hankō* schools, often based on collections of daimyo families, contained works of this kind, such as the

⁴³⁰ Even in lists according to the *iroha* order—such as this, the “*Heike*” 平家, and the “*heihō/hyōhō*” 兵法 “military studies” texts—appear next to each other. This coincidence helped reinforce the association of the *Tale of the Heike* with military studies.

⁴³¹ The last page of volume twenty-four of the *Heike hyōban* commentary is stamped with the seal of the Shōheizaka Academy. The red seal on the bottom left says *Bunkyū kōshi* 文久甲子, which corresponds to the year Bunkyū 4, or 1864. The text (204-0006) is now kept in the National Archives of Japan (*Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan* 国立公文書館), and its full digital version is available online. See the National Archives of Japan, Digital Archive, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/meta/F1000000000000042995>.

Taiheiki hyōban and texts of specific military studies schools traditionally studied in domains, in both printed and manuscript format.

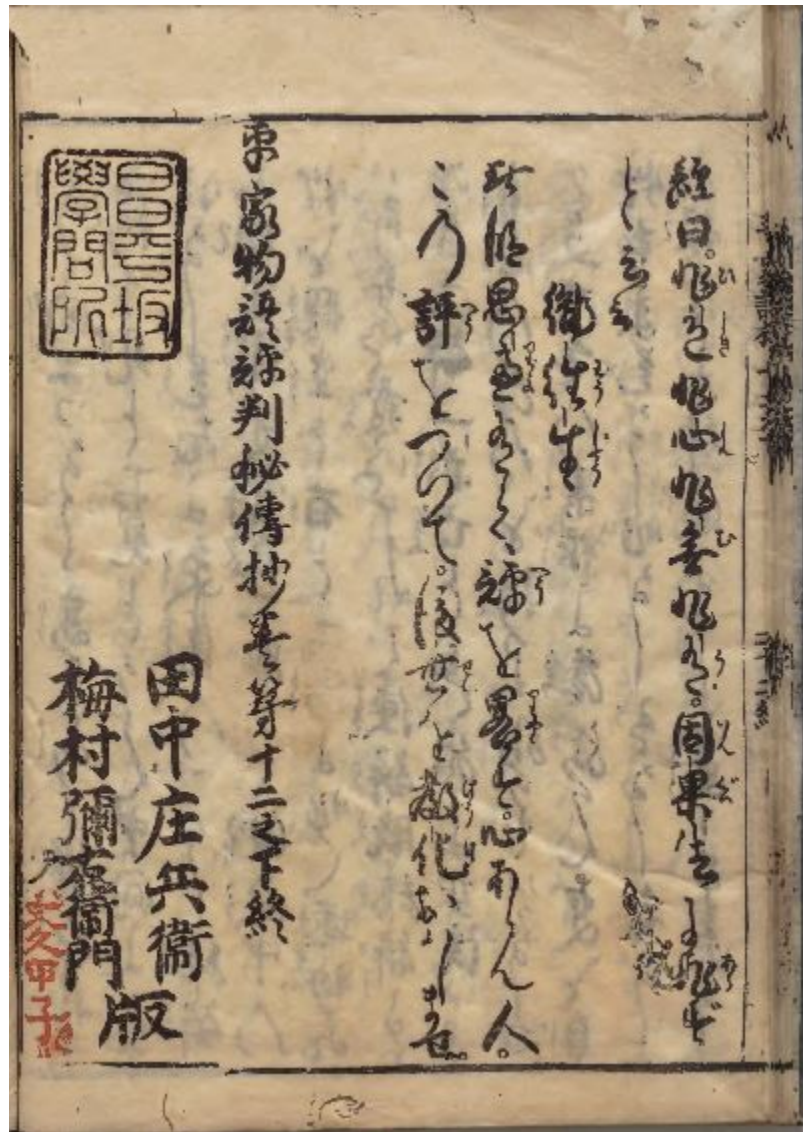


Fig. 6 A page of the *Heike hyōban* commentary stamped with the seal of the Shōheizaka Academy⁴³²

The presence of the *Heike hyōban* commentary in the *hankō* schools provides a clue about its readership and reception in the late-Edo period. This commentary's proximity to educational sites for warrior-officials has roots in the earlier decades of the Edo period, since

⁴³² *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 24, page 25. National Archives of Japan, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/M2015071311025657035>.

even prior to establishment of *hankō*, domains had educational sites of a more private family scope organized around a tutor or invited lecturer, especially for the top families of the domain.

In the conclusion of this section on the schools, I will provide a brief overview of the format and curriculum adopted in *hankō* in general, clarifying who likely read the *Heike hyōban* commentary and for what purpose. School students fit into the age group between eight or nine years to around twenty years, and were mostly boys and teens from warrior families for whom enrolment was mandatory in many domains.⁴³³ The late Edo curriculum of *hankō* was centred on “Chinese studies” (*Kangaku* 漢学), especially the classics (*kei* 経) and histories (*shi* 史). The purpose of studying the classics was moral cultivation with a focus not only on human ethics in general, but on the attitude of a ruler or administrator who was to follow the principles of virtuous rule. In this sense, the subject was seen as highly practical since it was tied to the overall goal of raising good officials and loyal retainers. History, another core discipline, was not an abstract body of knowledge about what happened in the past somewhere in China, but was meant to enable students “to discern [signs] of [stable] rule and disorder, rise and fall [of states].”⁴³⁴ In addition to Chinese texts, Japanese texts were studied as well, for example, the *Unofficial History of Japan* (*Nihon gaishi* 日本外史, 1829), the *History of Great Japan* (*Dai Nihon shi* 大日本史), or *A Reading of History* (*Tokushi yoron* 読史余論, 1712). The *Heike hyōban* commentary and other works of the same kind were created with a similar general aim and attitude, and thus would fit well into the curriculum. Other traditional core subjects were military

⁴³³ Inagaki Tadahiko, “Hankō ni okeru gakushū naiyō, hōhō no tenkai,” *Teikyō daigaku bungakubu kiyō kyōikugaku* 27 (2002): 1. This age group of potential readers perhaps explains why many *kanji* characters in the *Heike hyōban* commentary are given with *furigana*. Thus, it is not entirely correct to label such texts as works “for women and children,” or “for commoners.” After all, even a future daimyo lord in his youth likely read texts with *furigana* before gaining enough experience to read complicated texts without *furigana*.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 12. The quote is from the *Program of Elementary Schoolwork* (*Shogaku kagyō shidai* 初学課業次第, 1832): “Oyoso shi o yomu no kokoroe wa, chiran kōbō o wakimauru ni ari.” 「凡ソ史ヲ読ムノ心得ハ、治乱興亡ヲ弁フルニアリ。」

studies, etiquette, and calligraphy, to which new subjects were added at the end of the Edo period: National Learning (the study of ancient Japan and Japanese classics), Western studies, medicine, and mathematics.

As for the format, the following five kinds or modes of study were typical in the *hankō*: rote reading (*sodoku* 素読), lectures (*kōgi* 講義, *kōshaku* 講釈), group reading or debate seminars (*kaidoku* 会読 or *rinkō* 輪講), self-study and reading on one's own (*dokukan* 独看, *dokken* 独見, *dokudoku* 独読), and questions and debate based on texts studied on one's own (*shitsumon* 質問). These were developed for the Chinese studies (study of Confucian classics and other texts), but were implemented in other disciplines as well, such as history, medicine, Japanese studies (*wagaku* 和学), and Western studies (Dutch, English, and other).⁴³⁵ The three stages of studying under guidance (*sodoku* and lectures), group study and debate (*kaidoku*), and self-study (reading and research on one's own), thus constituted a universal educational method or approach that could be applied practically in any area of scholarship. In addition, *hankō* schools typically held gatherings, once or twice a month each, for Japanese and Chinese poetry and literary arts or composition (*bun* 文).

Given this kind of curriculum, what use was likely made of texts like the *Heike hyōban* commentary? Even if it was not studied as one of the main texts of Japanese history or military studies, it could be read as a supplementary work on these subjects, and it would also fit well into a category of texts for group debate and independent reading. In the case of *hankō* schools, the students were mostly domain warriors in their teens. The commentary's mix of evaluations of political and military stratagems, discussions of famous historical figures, and idealistic yet realistic analyses of human nature provided lively, entertaining, and educational reading material.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 20.

At the same time, the text's argumentation, conflicting views, and use of quotes could improve one's abilities to debate and assess opinions. The commentary's discussion of the Genpei conflict in both its political and military aspects—with the focus on evaluating and assessing attitudes, behaviour, and decisions of characters—illustrated moral qualities and the consequences of people's acts or misdeeds. This was quite similar to the general purpose of reading classics and histories like the *Nihon gaishi*, which was the moral cultivation of future warrior-officials and the ability to perceive the signs of the rise and fall of states. These themes definitely surfaced regularly in discussions of the classics, histories, or military texts, and studying the *Heike hyōban* on one's own, for example, could serve as preparation for *kaidoku* debates on similar topics.

6.3.4 Catalogues of Lending Libraries/Bookstores

This overview of text catalogues would be incomplete without an examination of *kashihon'ya* 貸本屋, popular lending libraries of the late Edo period that supplied warriors in the daimyo quarters of cities and also townsmen with texts, most of which were entertaining works of fiction. The significance of these libraries to scholarship on late-Edo readership, literacy, and text circulation in the provinces is unquestionable, and they are inevitably mentioned whenever Edo-period commoner readers are discussed. Catalogues of these libraries are primary sources that give a more or less full picture of the texts found in specific stores, and thus reveal local readers' interests. Nevertheless, *kashihon'ya* catalogues were apparently seen as useless in the Meiji period and were not carefully preserved, and as a result, modern scholarship is surprisingly limited to only four such catalogues. One of them, the famous and well-researched Nagoya's Daisō 大惣 lending library catalogue, was not used for the library's operation, but created later in the Meiji period when the entire library was sold. Moreover, this particular lending library was the biggest one in Japan and by no means represents the more typical libraries of a much smaller

size. Below, I examine all four catalogues focusing on the *Heike hyōban* commentary or, in case of its absence, on *gunsho* texts in general.⁴³⁶

6.3.4.1 *Kashihon* 'ya in Suwa, Shinano Province

The catalogue of this *kashihon* 'ya, located in Suwa castle town (modern Nagano prefecture), was created around 1857. Among the 227 items listed, there is no *Heike hyōban* commentary. The list includes, however, twenty-eight works grouped under the “gunsho” 軍書 heading, such as the *Hōgen monogatari*, *Heiji monogatari*, *Heike monogatari* (twelve volumes), *Genpei jōsuiki*, *Taiheiki* (forty-one volume), and others; seven works under the “Chinese gunsho” (*tōgunsho* 唐軍書), such as *Tsūzoku Sangokushi*; fifty-six works under the “records” (*kiroku* 記録) heading, which contains unofficial histories, family strife incidents, and works closer to contemporary times; thirty-six works about vendettas (*katakiuchi* 敵討); fifty-two works of “comic” (*kokkei* 滑稽) and “books of sentiment” (*ninjōbon* 人情本) type; and others. The likely customers of this library were domain warriors and other local residents.⁴³⁷ The image of *kashihon* 'ya as being centred on commoners perhaps needs to be revised in this case.

6.3.4.2 Himeji Provincial *Kashihon* 'ya Catalogue

It is one of the rare extant catalogues used in the lending library and bookstores located in late-Edo Himeji, Harima province. The catalogue created in 1851 lists 260 items grouped into

⁴³⁶ The problem with *kashihon* 'ya catalogues is their scarcity and their diversity of format, suggesting that the creation of such catalogues was not a systematic commonplace activity. At present, it is only possible to discuss each specific *kashihon* 'ya library in its time and place, without making generalizations.

⁴³⁷ Suzuki Toshiyuki, “Shinshū Suwa Masuya Bungorō no kashihon shomoku,” *Edo Bungaku* 39 (2008): 90.

categories typical of the *kashihon* 'ya, such as *gunsho*, vendettas, *yomihon*, *kokkeibon*, etc.⁴³⁸

Even though *gunsho* texts take up a sizable portion of the entire collection, commentaries on the *Heike* and even works like the *Heike* itself and the *Taiheiki* are surprisingly missing. The *gunsho* category is not clearly separate from *yomihon*. The catalogue does list, however, the *Soga monogatari*, *Genpei jōsuiki*, *Hōgen* and *Heiji monogatari*, *Sekigahara gunki*, *Tsūzoku Sangokushi*, *Kamakura Taiheiki*, and other works.

6.3.4.3 Meigandō *Kashihon* 'ya in Sunpu

This catalogue of the provincial *kashihon* 'ya in Sunpu (modern Shizuoka) was created in the early nineteenth century, between 1815 and 1827. This library had an extensive collection of texts as shown by the catalogue, which lists as many as 977 items in categories like *tsūzoku gunsho*, Japanese *gunki*, records, tales, *zuihitsu*, poetry, vendettas and family strife, *kyōkun*, ghost stories, and miscellanea.⁴³⁹ More than half of all texts are manuscripts, a non-trivial fact highlighting the continuous importance of manuscripts successfully coexisting with printed texts even in the late Edo period.

The *gunki* collection of this *kashihon* 'ya is especially rich and varied. In addition to translated China-related *tsūzoku gunsho* and various historical texts (with titles ending in *gundan* 軍談, *gaishi* 外史, *ki* 記, *den* 伝, *wa* 話), the Japanese ones, under a separate *honchō gunki rui* 本朝軍記類 heading, include both the *Heike* (in twelve volumes, printed) and its *Heike hyōban* commentary (in twenty-four volumes, printed). The *Taiheiki* (forty-one volume, printed) is listed next to its commentaries, *Taiheiki sankō* 太平記参考 (forty-one volume, printed) and *Taiheiki*

⁴³⁸ Yamamoto Takashi, "Bakumatsuki Himeji no kashihon'ya mokuroku: Hanpodō Haiya Sukeji *Kashihon mokuroku*," *Kokubungaku* 73 (December 1995): 236.

⁴³⁹ Shigehara Hiroshi, "Honkoku Meigandō zōsho mokuroku," *Tokoha Kokubun* 18 (June 1993): 27-35.

hikan 太平記秘鑑 (120 volumes, manuscript), a later descendant of the *Taiheiki hyōban*. The *Soga monogatari* (twelve volumes, printed) is also grouped with the *Soga monogatari hyōban* (fifteen volumes, printed).

This *kashihon* 'ya in Sunpu was likely not a commoner-oriented library with entertainment content as the *kashihon* 'ya often tend to be imagined. As suggested by the literary scholar Shigehara Hiroshi, the library had links with Sunpu intellectuals of the period, such as members of a local *kanshi* and *kanbun* study society, or the National Learning followers who invited Hirata Atsutane and who were his disciples.⁴⁴⁰ The presence in the catalogue of 109 titles of texts by National Learning scholars, all manuscripts, further illustrates the interests of readers. Furthermore, Sunpu is a town closely associated with the Tokugawa shogunal family, and local readers borrowing texts were very likely warrior-class retainers of various levels, rather than merchants or artisans.

6.3.4.4 The Daisō *Kashihon* 'ya of Nagoya

The Daisō 大惣 *kashihon* 'ya was the most famous and biggest lending library in Japan, but unfortunately, instead of providing information on *kashihon* 'ya in general, active research on its catalogue probably contributed much to skewing the image and scope of these libraries. This particular store in Nagoya is now viewed as an outstanding and exceptional case. Established in 1767, it was active until the late nineteenth century and its catalogue was created around 1898 for the purpose of selling the collection. Many university libraries bought its parts, and now many of its texts are spread around Kyoto and Tokyo libraries. The entire catalogue lists as many

⁴⁴⁰ Shigehara Hiroshi, “*Meigandō zōsho mokuroku* to Rakusanginsha: kaidai ni kaete,” *Tokoha Kokubun* 18 (June 1993): 40-41.

as 21,401 texts.⁴⁴¹ Although many works are indeed Edo-period texts, numerous new printed texts were added in the Meiji period. The catalogue lists the *Heike* (twelve volumes), its *Heike hyōban* commentary (twenty-four volumes), and even the *Heike karui* commentary (five volumes). The list of all *gunsho* is very long and contains, of course, the *Taiheiki* commentaries and other texts of all kinds.

In conclusion, the above overview shows that the *Heike hyōban* commentary was not kept in two small-scale provincial *kashihon* 'ya, and was found only in two libraries out of four: the early nineteenth-century one in Sunpu and the late nineteenth-century one in Nagoya. The Nagoya lending library is too large and mixed with Meiji texts, and it would be strange not to find this commentary in its catalogue. The other one in Sunpu, as described above, appears to have catered to the scholarly interests of its customers, many of whom were likely local warriors and intellectuals. Interestingly, both Nagoya and Sunpu were cities of the Owari branch of the Tokugawa and the Tokugawa shogun, respectively, in the Edo period. The evidence is scarce, but I suggest that the *Heike hyōban* was mostly sought by warrior-class officials and intellectuals of various levels. This readership, moreover, fits well with the other spheres in which the commentary circulated in the same time period, such as the *hankō* schools for warriors. Throughout the Edo period, the commentary was found mostly among warrior-officials (from daimyo to young students and village headmen) and people with intellectual or educational interests. As far as the available evidence suggests, despite the work's publication in the seventeenth century, in the course of the next two centuries the commentary did not permeate to the commoner readers. Perhaps its content was outside the range of their interests, even if they could find access to the text.

⁴⁴¹ *Daisō zōsho mokuroku to kenkyū, Honbunhen*, ed. Shibata Mitsuhiko, *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* 27 (Seishōdō Shoten, 1983), 80.

In this chapter, I have examined modern scholarship on the *Heike hyōban*, its Edo-period reception, and its circulation. The results can be briefly summarized as follows: Modern scholars see the commentary as a didactic work related to military studies that sheds light on the *Heike*'s reception in the Edo period. Edo-period writers tend to repeat rumours that link this anonymous commentary to anti-bakufu *rōnin* scholars of military studies, such as Yui Shōsetsu, and describe episodes in which the text is criticized and avoided due to its bad reputation. Despite this supposed neglect, the *Heike hyōban* was the object of scholarly attention in the form of the *Heike karui* and was circulated throughout the Edo period, first in high-level settings close to the daimyo and other members of the elite, and then in schools for domain warriors, and in lending libraries, too.

It is evident from the passages discussed above that most people who mentioned, criticized, studied or somehow interacted with the text were warrior-officials of various levels. Despite its publication in the mid-seventeenth century, most sources indicate that the commentary's readership was limited to warriors. Throughout the Edo period, reading this type of didactic texts was expected in the milieu of warrior-officials as part of education, and it contributed to shaping their shared perception of history, statecraft, and ethics. In the next chapter, I situate the *Heike hyōban* within premodern Japanese didactic and commentarial works on politics and ethics in order to show that they have many features in common. The medieval and early modern texts examined provide clues for understanding the *Heike hyōban*, and also demonstrate that a discussion-based commentarial format was often used for didactic purposes and for the admonition of rulers by scholars.

Chapter 7 *Hyōban* Commentaries and the Tradition of Discussion and Criticism

Many of the Edo-period commentaries of a politico-ethical nature intended as didactic or admonitory treatises for rulers and warrior-officials had the term “evaluation” (*hyō* or *hyōban*) in their title. In this chapter, I examine several East Asian and many premodern Japanese commentarial works that either adopt a similar commentarial stance, or have such titles. This chapter presents a comparative analysis of *hyōban*-style works in Japan, and in Chapter 8, I compare *hyōban* commentaries and *gunsho* texts with politico-ethical didactic treatises for rulers in Europe and the Near East, known as “mirrors for princes.”

In the following discussion, I explore a selection of premodern Japanese texts that discuss the history for the admonition of rulers and didactic purposes in order to show that *Heike hyōban* and *hyōban*-style commentaries in general are not odd isolated works, but typical cases among scholarly works of the medieval and early modern periods, which use similar approaches. In other words, I claim that the *Heike hyōban* and similar commentaries did not suddenly appear in the seventeenth century, but grew out of earlier commentarial practices that continued in the early modern period.

It is common to come across descriptions of Tokugawa Japan in modern scholarship that portray it negatively, as a harsh military regime or a police state doomed to failure, later to be replaced by a better system. In Japan, this view was promoted in the Meiji period with the aim of highlighting progress in opposition to backward, feudal times. A common object of criticism is the plight of writers and thinkers who were restricted by bakufu censorship and punished with house arrest for publishing subversive texts. Without denying the oppressive nature of these efforts, we must acknowledge that the Tokugawa or earlier medieval Japan was not substantially

different in this respect from numerous other states and empires across the world during the same time period. Just as many ruled by European monarchies did not advocate for the downfall of royal houses despite the harsh measures or social problems they experienced, most people in Tokugawa Japan did not blame their problems on their governing system or the bakufu. In terms of censorship, it is anachronistic to impose expectations of liberal attitudes towards publications in the seventeenth-century context. At the same time, it is absurd to expect that the bakufu or a European king would promote or tolerate texts and people that threatened the state or the personal prestige of the ruler, that is, anything that might qualify as high treason.

We should not assume, however, that all criticism was punished and that only laudatory texts were allowed. Dissatisfaction with a specific issue or policy, in the form of advice, warning, or discussion, was expressed through various means. Some texts of this kind were published, many circulating in manuscript form, along with verbal discussions which took place within the bakufu at the domain level of daimyo lords, in educational settings, or in private communication between scholars, priests, townsmen, and village notables. Despite the absolutist character of power, collective discussions or negotiations were held regularly and at all levels, from the shogun and his advisors, to village headmen. Criticism in the form of policy advising or feedback was even sought by those in power.

7.1 Didactic and Pragmatic Views of History in Premodern China

The *hyōban* genre, already defined above, in its basic approach consists of two components: the evaluation and the judgment of an event or person. Thus, it can be considered a variety of “historical discussion” (*shiron* 史論) when the topic or text commented on is historical, and for non-historical texts, it is a critical commentary of the content with the author free to discuss any issues that seem relevant. A *hyōban* commentary somewhat resembles a collection of

essays (*zuihitsu* 随筆), but rather than offering a wide choice of topics, it focuses on another text's content. Since the *Heike* was considered a historical text, the *Heike hyōban* was not only a military studies text, but also a “historical discussion” about the Genpei events described in the *Heike*. In general, *hyōban* commentaries of seventeenth century in Japan were not an innovation, but a continuation of a long tradition in East Asia. Many influential earlier commentaries on history had elements similar to those seen in Edo-period *hyōban*.

In ancient Chinese and East Asian historiographical traditions, writing a history or a commentary on a historical text went beyond recording dates and events, and aimed at offering a pragmatic and often ethical solution to current socio-political issues that concerned a given critic. As the historian Q. Edward Wang notes, “history in ancient China always had a rather mundane purpose. While there had been historical thinkers who contemplated the general meanings of history, ... most historians, as well as the rulers who were supposedly their primary readers, sought temporal practical lessons in history.”⁴⁴² The ultimate concern is for improving the present by knowing what happened in the past. This concern was ascribed by Mencius to Confucius’ writing of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), the history of the state of Lu from 722 to 481 BCE:

Again the world fell into decay, and principles faded away. Perverse speaking and oppressive deeds waxed rife again. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and made the *Chunqiu*. What the *Chunqiu* contains are matters proper to the sovereign.⁴⁴³

Later, many Confucian scholars wrote commentaries on the *Chunqiu*, offering numerous interpretations and proposing their own reforms motivated by concerns similar to those of

⁴⁴² Q. Edward Wang, “Objectivity, Truth, and Hermeneutics: Re-reading the *Chunqiu*,” in *Classics and Interpretations: The Hermeneutic Traditions in Chinese Culture*, ed. Ching-i Tu (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 168.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 170. Translation from the *Mencius* by James Legge.

Confucius himself. For example, in the Han period, Confucian scholar and imperial counselor Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195-104 BCE) linked the text of the *Chunqiu* and the political issues of his time to reform the way imperial power was exercised. In his commentary, the *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn* [Annals] (*Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露), Dong saw the *Chunqiu* as a code of ethical principles, as a guide to knowing causes of events and understanding responsibilities of the ruler, and as a text ensuring the future of the dynasty.⁴⁴⁴ Facts described briefly in the *Chunqiu* were elaborately augmented by Dong, turning them into ethical and religious lessons with contemporary relevance for the ruler.⁴⁴⁵

Later, a pragmatic and utilitarian view of history also led to the composition of the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, 1084 CE), in which the political history of the previous two millennia was used to illustrate various tactics in government. Throughout history, one can find examples when scholarly debates and commentaries took on a pragmatic character and were themselves part of politics. In Song China (960-1279 CE), for example, debates on the Confucian classic *Mencius* provided the frame in which opposing groups argued about reforms, policies, institutions, and the overall perspective on government. Interpreting the *Mencius* and discussing it from opposing viewpoints was “to debate over political management.”⁴⁴⁶ At the same time, “politics” or statecraft in the premodern era was not separated from ethical or religious concepts. For Confucius, historical facts and

⁴⁴⁴ For the first complete English-language translation of this text, see: Dong Zhongshu, *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn: attributed to Dong Zhongshu*, ed. Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

⁴⁴⁵ Sarah A. Queen, “The Way of the Unadorned King: The Politics of Tung Chung-shu’s Hermeneutics,” in *Classics and Interpretations: The Hermeneutic Traditions in Chinese Culture*, ed. Ching-i Tu (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 173-193.

⁴⁴⁶ Chün-chieh Huang, “Chinese Hermeneutics as Politics: The Sung Debates over the *Mencius*,” in *Classics and Interpretations: The Hermeneutic Traditions in Chinese Culture*, ed. Ching-i Tu (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 206.

sources were important, but priority was given to moral principles, since the essential purpose was to use history to illustrate ethics.⁴⁴⁷ Concern with moral norms, together with pragmatic and practical techniques to be applied in the present, remained strong in East Asian historiography and hermeneutics in general, hence the multitude of didactic and moralistic commentaries on historical and other texts.

7.2 Pre-Edo Historical Writings: Discussion and Admonition

Japanese *hyōban* commentaries of the Edo period combined elements of earlier commentarial formats and approaches, both continental and Japanese. Let us consider several cases of historical lectures, discussions, and admonitions that testify to the prominence of historical commentaries in pre-Edo Japan. In the Heian period, for example, the *Great Mirror* (*Ōkagami* 大鏡, late eleventh century) may be considered an early example of a commentary on historical figures, especially Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028), in the form of “neither history nor biography, but a collection of traditional stories and anecdotes about historical figures.”⁴⁴⁸ The narrative recreates a setting in a Buddhist temple with several speakers, who tell stories and add different versions of events that happened at court, before a congregation which includes court nobles. Anecdotes include those not found in other sources, such as diaries and official chronicles, probably being rumours or improvised unauthentic inventions. The *Great Mirror* may be partly based on *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (*Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語, mid-eleventh century CE), a long factual account of the life and times of Michinaga, with the addition of criticism that aims to revise the *Eiga monogatari* and reveal the “true” story with conflicts and

⁴⁴⁷ Q. Edward Wang, “Objectivity, Truth, and Hermeneutics: Re-reading the *Chunqiu*,” 159, 163.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ōkagami, The Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times*, trans. Helen Craig McCullough (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 5-6.

internecine strife.⁴⁴⁹ The author depicts Michinaga favourably, praising him for combining both courtly accomplishments and martial abilities such as archery. As explained by McCullough, an English translator of the work:

[...] the *Ōkagami* author has a very simple purpose, which is ... to explain Michinaga's success, and which he attempts to achieve by considering his protagonist's ancestry, his marital connections, the part played in his career by luck (or karma), and, especially, his personal attributes, as compared and contrasted with those of potential rivals.⁴⁵⁰

Of special importance for a ruler is the quality described by the word *tamashii* which “covers a fairly wide range of related meanings in the *Great Mirror*, including wit, presence of mind, ingenuity, and the ability to cope with practical problems.”⁴⁵¹ This quality is presented as the key to political success for a statesman. Although the author's attitude to Michinaga is morally neutral and the focus is on his resourcefulness and ability, there are traces of evaluation. The literary scholar Jin'ichi Konishi notes that the *Great Mirror* “contains judgments based on a principle called “dōri” ... [which] signifies commonsense or conventional criteria,”⁴⁵² and also states that “[i]n all cases, the approval of members of society present at the time of an event indicates its ‘justness.’”⁴⁵³ Praising Michinaga, the author of the *Great Mirror* says:

He [Michinaga] is a man who enjoys special protection from the gods of heaven and earth. [...] Some people call him a reincarnation of Shōtoku Taishi; others say he is Kōbō Daishi, reborn to make Buddhism flourish. [...] A nation is bound to be perfectly happy

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 48-53.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁵² Jin'ichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, Vol. 3, trans. Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 309.

⁴⁵³ ———, *A History of Japanese Literature*, Vol. 2, trans. Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 375.

with a ruler like Michinaga. [...] Can we ever hope to enjoy such safety and peace again?⁴⁵⁴

Divine protection is indirectly tied with abilities and spiritual qualities, as a result of which the state is in safety and peace.

The *Great Mirror*, likely created by a Fujiwara noble, is an anonymous and undated work of the eleventh century. The old man Yotsugi, a *sarugaku* entertainer, tells most of the stories, and his performance makes the *Great Mirror*'s narrator, a person in the audience, exclaim "[i]t was amazing, and a little frightening, to listen to him. Was there anything he didn't know?"⁴⁵⁵ According to modern scholarship, the rumours outlined in the work are mostly fictional, but the narrator appears persuaded by their plausibility.

In the *Heike hyōban* commentary, "transmission" (*den*) sections are likewise presented as rumours that explain what *actually* happened, thus complementing the version given in the *Heike*. The praise of a ruler who is good at poetry and archery, seen in the *Great Mirror*, is consistent with the ubiquitous Edo-period concept of keeping balance between the civil and the martial (*bunbu*). The focus on ability and resourcefulness is found in both works, although the *Great Mirror* is primarily concerned with the career success of those it discusses, and avoids assessment of moral qualities. In contrast, the *Heike hyōban* distinguishes between types of success: the case of Kiyomori's success is criticized as harmful self-interest and a mistake of the retired emperor who appointed him, while that of Yoritomo is treated more favourably. The *tamashii* of the *Great Mirror* may be compared to the *Heike hyōban*'s heart/mind (*kokoro*), understood as personal wisdom and socio-political skills not learned from texts. This *kokoro*, however, is more constrained by ethical principles expressed as "following the Great Way."

⁴⁵⁴ Ōkagami, *The Great Mirror*, 208.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 240.

Resolving a situation to one's advantage is an important ability of a good ruler. This can be seen in works aiming for "benevolent government" rather than personal gain. We see this conveyed in the *Heike hyōban*'s emphasis on care for people, prosperity, and order in the state. The *Great Mirror*'s criteria, such as luck, good fortune, and attention to the supernatural and the divine, are absent in the *Heike hyōban*, which is mostly concerned with wise statecraft based on human actions and effort. Despite differences in content, the overall format of both works and their approach to historical events and figures are similar. Both works contain plausible "true" versions of events and evaluations of the qualities of rulers. Also, the *Great Mirror* may be seen as a commentary on *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, just as the *Heike hyōban* is a commentary on the *Heike*.

One of the themes running through the *Heike hyōban* is concern with the Latter Age of decline, during which only wise governance can maintain order in society. The *Heike hyōban* offers worldly advice on statecraft and military studies, but similar ideas in medieval works were conveyed through the Buddhist terminology and conceptual framework. For example, the historical text *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (ca. 1220 CE) by the scholarly Tendai abbot Jien (1155-1225 CE) is known for an elaborate theory of causation (*dōri*) that governs history. Dividing history into seven stages, Jien identifies a specific *dōri* principle that acts as a causative force for events of each stage. Konishi summarizes Jien's perspective as follows:

[Jien] sees the universe as repeating the process of decline and zenith in units of time so long as to seem infinite. [...] In a mere millennium on earth, therefore, one can expect alternations of decline and zenith. On the other hand, since the overall trend is toward decline, only strong willpower and wise governance can move a state or society toward

its zenith. [...] The willpower and governance that produce a gradual improvement stem from correct judgments based on a knowledge of causation.⁴⁵⁶

In addition to the Buddhist concept of the Latter Age (*mappō*) of decline which permeates the entire work, Jien views the origin of the “warrior age” as being in the Hōgen disturbance of 1156, when political conflict was resolved by means of military force. Writing in 1219, during a period of tensions between the imperial court and the warrior government in Kamakura, Jien analyzes the past in order to “explain the impending disasters and perhaps to prevent them.”⁴⁵⁷ The work is filled with anxiety for the future, and one of its purposes was to prevent the court’s conflict with Kamakura. He denounces, for example, evil practices in the imperial court, such as bribery, idleness, and arrogance, implying that the anti-Kamakura movement is unwise and risky.⁴⁵⁸ The *Gukanshō* adopts the admonitory stance to warn high-ranking courtiers, while the *Heike hyōban*, also pervaded by anxiety for the future, admonishes high-ranking warriors of the Edo period.

Anxiety for the state also motivated the Buddhist priest Nichiren 日蓮 (1222-1282) to write *On Establishing the Correct Teaching for the Security of the Land* (*Risshō ankokuron* 立正安国論, 1260 CE), a petition arguing for the belief in the Lotus Sutra as the only true faith. Submitted to Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227-1263), the retired fifth regent (*shikken*) of the Kamakura shogunate, this work takes the form of a dialogue with a layperson, and links the Lotus Sutra faith with peace and order in the state and with personal peace of mind and salvation in this world and the next. By changing or rectifying his faith or mind (*kokoro*), a ruler obtains an invincible state in which both body and mind are secure and enlightened. This idea, expressed in

⁴⁵⁶ Jin’ichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, Vol. 3, trans. Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 308.

⁴⁵⁷ John S. Brownlee, *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 92.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 94.

Buddhist terms and tied exclusively to the Lotus Sutra in this case, is almost identical to the position of the *Heike hyōban*, which similarly emphasizes self-correction and a wise and virtuous mind. These attributes are described as “following the Great Way,” and are presented as prerequisites for state stability and continuity. Premodern treatises used for the admonition and persuasion of rulers thus take a similar stance and use a shared set of rhetorical techniques that constitute a larger discourse of didactic discussion.

Bold criticism of emperors, generals, and abbots in the *Heike hyōban* also has earlier precedents. For example, the politico-historical work, the *Record of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Emperors* (*Jinnōshōtōki* 神皇正統記, 1339) by Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354 CE), criticizes Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河上皇 (1053-1129, r. 1073-1087) for controlling power independently from the emperor, and thereby going against the established *ritsuryō* order. The loss of power by the reigning emperor is described as a sign of the Latter Age. In addition, the decision of Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽天皇 (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198) to start the Jōkyū disturbance (*Jōkyū no ran* 承久の乱, 1221), a campaign against the Kamakura shogunate and supported by the people, is assessed as the “Emperor’s fault.” Despite the pro-imperial stance and a reluctance to point out mistakes by the sovereign, Chikafusa analyzes past faults in order to admonish and strengthen imperial power through the discussion of instructive precedents. The *Heike hyōban* commentary, which has some pro-imperial content,⁴⁵⁹ also explicitly criticizes specific actions and decisions of emperors in order to caution warrior rulers, or rulers in general, against repeating the same mistakes. Thus, in both works, criticism of past

⁴⁵⁹ Horitake Tadaaki, “*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* no henchosha ni tsuite: ‘hyō’ no bu ni okeru shisōteki haikai,” in *Gunki monogatari no mado*, vol. 1, ed. Kansai gunki monogatari kenkyūkai (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1997), 467-470.

rulers' faults is considered an acceptable didactic technique that contributes to prevention of further decline of the state and society.

The *Heike hyōban*'s stance of a historical and political treatise addressed to warrior rulers has medieval precedents such as the *Woodcutter's Talks on Governing the Country* (*Shōdan chiyō* 樵談治要, 1480 CE), in which the leading scholar of the time, Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良 (1402-1481), explains statecraft principles and gives advice to the fifteen-year-old Ashikaga Yoshihisa 足利義尚 (1465-1489), the ninth Ashikaga shogun (from 1474 to 1489). In the context of the crisis after the Ōnin war (*Ōnin no ran* 応仁の乱, 1467-1477), Kanera illustrates his points through recent events viewed from the perspective of a courtier, which explains his anxiety about the situation of "the low prevailing over the high" (*gekokujō* 下剋上), that is, villager revolts against landlords and cases of retainers destroying family heads in order to become daimyo lords. In 1478, Kanera lectured on the *Tale of Genji* to Hino Tomiko 日野富子 (1440-1496), wife of the retired shogun and mother of Yoshihisa. At her request, he wrote a political guide, *On a Sleepless Night* (*Sayo no nezame* 小夜の寝覚, ca. 1479), drawing from these lectures. As a *Genji* scholar, he read didactic political meaning into the text for the first time in its reception history, using its content, which would have been familiar to Tomiko, as the basis for political advice intended for a female ruler.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁶⁰ Ii Haruki, "Didactic Readings of *The Tale of Genji*: Politics and Women's Education," in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 160-162. The following quote shows what kind of content was found in Kanera's treatises:

Hino Tomiko requested that Kanera write moral treatises for her fifteen-year-old son Yoshihisa, the ninth shogun. In response, Kanera completed *Bunmei ittōki* (*Records of All Civilization*, 1479) and *Shōdan chiyō* (*Woodcutter's Talks on Governing the Country*, 1480). In *Bunmei ittōki*, Kanera explains to the young ruler six general moral principles: pray to the Great Deity of Hachiman Bodhisattva, make filial piety the first priority, honor sincerity, act benevolently, practice the performing arts, and keep in mind the way of government. In *Shōdan chiyō*, Kanera expounds on several additional points, such as respecting the gods and the teaching of Buddha, maintaining personal integrity and honesty, and being careful when selecting attendants. (p. 162)

At first sight, the *Heike* is much more political and concerned with governance than the *Tale of Genji*, but creation of a political didactic treatise or commentary on the *Heike* did not occur in the medieval period and had to wait for the seventeenth-century *Heike hyōban* commentary. One reason for this neglect by pre-Edo scholars is the medieval use of the *Heike* as a musical art⁴⁶¹ and entertainment, and its association with Buddhist ritual settings for placating the “vengeful spirits” (*onryō* 怨霊) of those who perished in the Genpei conflict.⁴⁶² Another explanation is proposed in a recent article by the literary scholar Haruo Shirane, who distinguishes between two types of classics: “authoritative classics” such as the *Analects*, the *Tale of Genji*, or the *Kokin wakashū*, which become the object of extensive commentary without changes to the text itself once it becomes canonized; and “popular classics” such as the *Heike* or the *Taiheiki*, which are culturally significant and well known, are repeatedly expanded over time, and which “usually do not become the object of commentary and study; instead, they continue to be rewritten and retold and come to exist in widely differing variants.”⁴⁶³ Shirane notes the importance of “absorbing commentaries” in the evolution of the *Heike* in the medieval period:

The medieval commentaries, however, had provided the foundation for much of medieval popular literature such as the *Tale of the Heike*. Absorbing commentaries such as those on the *Wakan rōeishū*, the *Heike* expanded and re-created itself over a long period of time. So while the authoritative classics such as the *Tale of Genji* remained fundamentally

The issues discussed in *Sayo no nezame* are similar: carrying out the principle (*dōri*), maintaining peace, being benevolent to people, choosing good and avoiding evil, rewarding the faithful and punishing those who err, etc.

⁴⁶¹ Barbara Ruch, “The Other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 3: Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 532.

⁴⁶² David T. Bialock, “The Tales of the Heike,” in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, eds. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, David Lurie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 303.

⁴⁶³ Haruo Shirane, “Mediating the Literary Classics: Commentary and Translation in Premodern Japan,” in *Rethinking Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin Elman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 134.

unchanged, popular texts such as the *Tale of the Heike* evolved as a result of commentaries, educational textbooks, sermons, and oral storytelling.”⁴⁶⁴

Thus, the textual formation of the *Heike* involved—following medieval practices—the gradual incorporation and absorption of additional content into the text. Being by nature a compilation of diverse texts, or a patchwork, the tale could accommodate further exegetical additions, and thus no separate commentary was required. Using the terminology introduced by Haruo Shirane, I suggest that the creation of the separate didactic commentary, the *Heike hyōban*, in the early Edo period shows that the *Heike* came to be treated as an “authoritative classic” with fixed text, and became the object of commentary and study. In parallel with this trend, however, it successfully remained a “popular classic,” widely used for storytelling, theatre, and other genres of entertainment.

The traces of the use of the *Heike* for didactic and scholarly purposes, not necessarily linked to Buddhist thinking, can be traced back to the late medieval period. As shown by the scholar Kajihara Masaaki, the *Heike* was actively recited by *biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師 (itinerant performers accompanied by *biwa* lute) in residences of nobles and in temple settings. In the imperial palace and in the homes of nobility, the tale was recited at various gatherings, private banquets, and poetry sessions. Diaries show that women also had interest in attending these performances. As expected, given the tale’s deep links with Buddhist institutions and thinking, recitations often took place under the patronage of temples and on temple grounds during breaks between Buddhist ceremonies, during sutra copying and spirit pacification (*chinkon* 鎮魂) ceremonies, and during donation solicitation for temples (*kanjin* 勧進). Warrior houses also welcomed *biwa hōshi* recitations of the tale, either as entertainment or as ceremonial custom. For

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 144.

example, the Ashikaga shoguns held yearly ceremonies in the shogunal palace during the first month, with performances of the tale. Itinerant *biwa hōshi* helped spread the tale among provincial warriors, and in the Warring States period they functioned as storytelling companions (*otogishū*) serving daimyo lords.⁴⁶⁵ In fact, among *biwa hōshi* of the fifteenth century who had access to high-level audiences, there were people of wide erudition well-versed in Japanese history, temple histories, genealogies, past customs, and even astrology and yin-yang divination. As part of their *Heike* recitations, they also gave talks relying on this knowledge and their own experience.⁴⁶⁶ The content of the *Heike* was talked about (the kanji graphs used in records are *wa/hanashi* 話 or *dan* 談) or discussed in these sessions, which sometimes took place in temples. As shown by diary records, these lectures often continued for the whole day, focusing on a chapter or section of the *Heike*. Apparently, there were matters not intended for a wider audience that were privately told to a specific individual. Unfortunately, the exact format and content of such “*Heike* talks” (*heiwa* 平話) is not clear, but they were likely similar to question-and-answer sessions.⁴⁶⁷

Lectures and discussions on the *Heike* date to at least the fifteenth century, and interest in them among courtiers and audiences attending temples suggests an early form of an exegetical approach to the *Heike* narrative. People were curious about the historical context and the rumours and legends surrounding the events and people of the Genpei conflict. These talks that likely combined entertainment with didactic elements seem to be the closest pre-Edo ancestor of the *hyōban*-style lectures and commentaries of the seventeenth century. Some of these late

⁴⁶⁵ Kajihara Masaaki, “*Heike monogatari* juyō no yōtai: Muromachi, Sengoku jidai no biwa hōshi to sono geinōkatsudō,” in Kajihara Masaaki, *Gunki bungaku no isō* (Kyūko Shoin, 1998), 354-424.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 384.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 418.

medieval talks may have been transcribed and later incorporated into commentaries. Even without direct influence, the custom of discussing the *Heike* goes back at least to the fifteenth century, and its evolution together with the adaptation of discussed content to time, place, and audience led to the Edo-period *hyōban* commentaries on the *Heike* and similar texts.

Another novelty of the late medieval period is the use of the *Heike* by writers of warrior background who created historical works and didactic texts aimed at warriors. As noted by the literary scholar Saeki Shin'ichi, most medieval historical tales and war tales are written by nobles and monks, with almost none created by warriors themselves.⁴⁶⁸ The *Heike*, too, is strongly rooted in the worldview of Heian nobility and is not a work by warriors for warriors, even though it depicts battles and is partly consistent with the worldview of warriors.⁴⁶⁹ Most medieval sources show that the *Heike* circulated primarily in courtly and Buddhist settings, and that its reception by warriors, such as the Ashikaga shoguns, did not differ significantly from that of other groups. Nevertheless, there are rare cases when medieval warriors relied on the *Heike* for scholarly purposes such as composition of own historical works such as the *Record of Years between the Hōgen and Ryakuō Eras* (*Hōryaku kanki* 保暦間記), an anonymous work from about the mid-fourteenth century, written by a former warrior who fought on the side of Ashikaga Takauji and then became a monk. Relying on information in the *Tale of Hōgen* (*Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語, early thirteenth century), the *Heike*, and other sources, and being influenced by the *Heike* and its framework of karmic retribution and belief in the revenge of evil spirits, the author discusses history from the mid-twelfth century to the mid-fourteenth century,

⁴⁶⁸ Saeki Shin'ichi, Takagi Hiroaki, *Kōhon Hōryaku kanki*, Jūyō kotenseki sōkan 2 (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999), 282.

⁴⁶⁹ Saeki Shin'ichi, "Yoshisada gunki to bushi no kachikan," in *Nitchūkan no bushōden*, eds. Inoue Yasushi, Nagao Naoshige, Jon Byonsoru (Bensei Shuppan, 2014), 10-11.

criticizing the arrogance of people who exceed their rightful place and thus perish.⁴⁷⁰ This text demonstrates the use of the *Heike* by medieval warriors for the critical examination of history, but the interpretation stays close to the original framework of the *Heike*. The earliest extant text in which the *Heike* is explicitly used in a didactic work for warriors that expresses a warrior worldview is the *Military Record of [Nitta] Yoshisada* (*Yoshisada gunki* 義貞軍記, early fifteenth century). It contains practical information primarily for generals and also for warriors, ranging from advice on attitude, leadership, and schemes, to information about armour, weapons, and battle formations. According to Saeki, it is a true *gunki* (military record) that greatly differs in its worldview from, for example, the *Heike*, which was not considered a *gunki* before the Edo period.⁴⁷¹ Episodes from the *Heike* and other works, such as *Hōgen monogatari*, *Heiji monogatari*, and *Soga monogatari*, were used as illustrative examples of praiseworthy or condemnable behaviour of warriors in didactic works like *Yoshisada gunki*. The *Heike* and similar works thus came to be seen as *gunki*, that is, texts with practical knowledge about warrior norms and practices.⁴⁷²

The process of the *Heike* and similar works drifting into this *gunki* category continued for several centuries, from the *Yoshisada gunki* in the fifteenth century, to the *Heike hyōban* and similar commentaries in the early Edo period. Edo-period *hyōban* minimized the divine or supernatural component, focusing on a worldly approach centred on human effort. They emphasized Confucian and Shinto concepts and offered expanded advice for rulers in times of peace. However, the very method of using episodes from the *Heike* and similar texts for the purpose of teaching generals, daimyo lords, and their retainers how to be warriors remained the

⁴⁷⁰ Saeki Shin'ichi, Takagi Hiroaki, *Kōhon Hōryaku kanki*, 284, 288.

⁴⁷¹ Saeki Shin'ichi, "Yoshisada gunki to bushi no kachikan," 12-13.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 15.

same in both cases. Thus, the *Heike hyōban* commentary contributed to turning the *Heike* into a text associated with the warrior class and its values.

As follows from the above discussion, the seventeenth-century *Heike hyōban* is not an odd and unprecedented work, but part of the larger tradition or mode of teaching and admonishing about statecraft and ethics. Its approach, themes, and content combine elements that were found in earlier treatises, guides, essays, and petitions related to history and governance. The works examined above may not have directly influenced the *Heike hyōban*, but they all contributed to shaping the discourse of historical discussion and didactic commentary that affected the *Heike hyōban*. The significance of the *Heike hyōban* lies not in its uniqueness, but in its application of this didactic and critical mode to the *Heike*. Military studies scholars were the ones who carried out this task, which imbued the *Heike hyōban* with its distinctive content. As a result, the *Heike* was not only brought into the sphere of statecraft and didactic discussion, but also became closely associated with warrior rulers and warrior-officials.

7.3 Edo-period Didactic Commentaries Similar to the *Heike hyōban*

In this section, I briefly consider several Edo-period examples showing the continuation of the tradition of discussing and admonishing statecraft and ethics. As a didactic commentary for rulers, the *Heike hyōban* shares many traits with other Edo-period works of advice, admonition, and discussion.

The literary scholar Fukasawa Akio called the middle of the seventeenth century in Japan an “era of criticism” (*hihyō no jidai* 批評の時代) because of the multitude of critical texts created and published. It was an especially unstable time period filled with fires, hunger, and the deaths of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651) and the top

bakufu scholar, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657). There was rise in the number of *rōnin* and revolts involving them in 1651 and 1652, as well as an increase in financial and agricultural troubles, and new movements within Confucian studies and Buddhism. Moreover, the situation in neighbouring East Asia was not tranquil, with the fall of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and the establishment of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1912) in China. This intensity of natural and human troubles created a sense of crisis and the context for discussions that sought to find solutions to social and political problems. Production of critical commentaries on the classics, the compilation of military studies texts, and the publication of *hyōban* commentaries on medieval war tales were part of the search for optimal governance. Criticism of *haikai* poetic disputes, *hyōbanki* evaluations of actors and entertainers, and the publication of critical *kanazōshi* works are also indications that criticism of all kinds were in fashion.⁴⁷³

When discussing Edo-period criticism and discussion, it should be kept in mind the following use of terms and characters in the corpus of Edo-period official documents. The character *hyō* 評 is frequently used in words like *hyōgi* 評議, which means “to gather and investigate, examine, exchange opinions,” referring to group consultations on all levels of the bakufu structure, from top officials to villagers. It is also used in *hyōjō* 評定, meaning “to discuss as a group and reach a conclusion,” as well as in *hyōjōsho* 評定所 (the bakufu’s top legislative and judicial body) and *hyōdan* 評談 “to discuss, consult.” Thus, it is likely that the concept of *hyō(ban)* was primarily associated not with literature and entertainment, but with courts, disputes, investigations by officials, and group discussions on practical socio-political affairs.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Fukasawa Akio, “Joraishi no *Kanninki*,” *Geibunkō* 8 (July 2015): 47-81.

⁴⁷⁴ *Komonjo yōgo daijiten*, ed. Hayashi Hideo (Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2006), 582.

In the Edo period, many commentaries shared stylistic or structural properties with the *Heike hyōban*. For example, the *Dai Nihonshi* history of Japan, following the custom of Chinese official histories, was supplemented with evaluations of historical figures from the Confucian viewpoint. In 1715, the Mito domain daimyo had the Confucian scholar and warrior Asaka Tanpaku 安積澹泊 (1656-1738) add evaluation comments, and in 1720, the full text with the comments was submitted to the bakufu. In 1746, the comments were compiled into the separate work the *Grove of Critical Comments on the History of Great Japan* (*Dai Nihonshi sansō* 大日本史賛藪), while in 1809 they were removed from the *Dai Nihonshi*.⁴⁷⁵ Criticism of rulers' excesses (including those of emperors), the examination of policies that harm the state, the praise of loyalty to the emperor, and other topics are all discussed from a political and ethical perspective. The work was used by compilers of later historical treatises and commentaries, remaining influential until the early Meiji period.

Among texts by Nativist scholar Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) is *Tamakura* 手枕, written in the late 1750s as an apocryphal addition to the *Tale of Genji* that fills in a break in the original narrative. The addition of plausible fiction to supplement the untold story is a technique often seen in "transmission" (*den*) comments of the *Heike hyōban*. Norinaga is also the author of the *Secret Book of the Jeweled Comb-box* (*Hihon Tamakushige* 秘本玉くしげ, 1787), a Shintoist political treatise in which Norinaga gives his opinion and advice on politics, replying to the Kii daimyo, Tokugawa Harusada 徳川治貞 (1728-1789).⁴⁷⁶ Although Norinaga is mostly known for his research on ancient texts like the *Kojiki*, in this treatise he acts as a policy

⁴⁷⁵ Seta Michio, "Dai Nihonshi sansō: rekishi jinbutsu no kyarakutā jiten," in *Edobungaku o erabinaosu*, eds. Inoue Yasushi and Tanaka Kōji (Kasama Shoin, 2014), 102.

⁴⁷⁶ This daimyo is known for reforms that included the selection of fit people for high offices, the promotion of frugality, and the placement of boxes for people's complaints.

counselor on current issues such as domain economy, villagers' revolts, and relations between the domain government and local townsmen. For example, discussing villagers' revolts, he blames the wrong policies of the rulers, such as high taxes, as the cause of trouble and advises the daimyo to care for people by lowering the taxes, without resorting to violent suppression by force. As for its rhetorical style, the work often mentions the antiquity (*jōko* 上古) and the present (*ima no yo* 今の世), as well as the heart/mind (*kokoro*). Such works are quite similar to the "evaluation" (*hyō*) comments of the *Heike hyōban* and show that this kind of format and content was used by scholars to admonish and give advice to rulers and, in general, was seen by both sides as an acceptable means to interact with daimyo rulers discussing current affairs. Similar treatises were composed throughout the Edo period, especially in the nineteenth century, and it appears that scholars were expected to create these texts or to converse on such topics. Thus, they had practical interest in studying earlier texts, including *gunki hyōban* works, as models of political didactic treatises and advice books with social criticisms.

As already discussed in earlier chapters, the *Heike hyōban*, being an anonymous work without even a preface outlining the details of its production, is difficult to place in a definite context. Its content and approach are, however, particularly close to those of the following two works of the same mid-seventeenth century with known authors: the *Auxiliary Chapters on the Genji* (*Genji gaiden* 源氏外伝, ca. 1673) by Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619-1691), and the *Evaluative Commentary on the Imperial Mirror* (*Teikanhyō* 帝鑑評) by a discussion group around Banzan's patron, Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609-1682). The similarity in content can be explained by the influence of Banzan's ideas on the authors of the *Teikanhyō*. Even without having a direct link with Banzan, the *Heike hyōban* certainly belongs to the same type of texts, and discussing these works as a group helps to narrow down the rough context of the *Heike*

hyōban during its production. Also, facts known about the two texts confirm that discussions in the *hyōban*-style did, in fact, take place at the high level of daimyo lords and bakufu retainers, and thus the work should not be automatically labelled as popular entertainment of townsmen, for example.

Kumazawa Banzan was a warrior scholar and administrator serving daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa. He then became a *rōnin* in 1657 and led a Confucian salon with courtiers among his disciples. Leaving the capital in 1667, Banzan took part in a joint commentarial project on the *Tale of Genji* from around 1673, together with courtier Nakanoin Michishige 中院通茂 (1631-1710),⁴⁷⁷ with whom he exchanged comments and revisions by correspondence. In a recent article, the intellectual historian James McMullen describes the difference between Michishige's medieval, conservative, and academic commentarial style intended for court nobles, and Banzan's original exegesis meant primarily for warrior readers:

In contrast to the eclectic, philological, and antiquarian approach that had been an aspect of the medieval tradition, his was a radically Confucian, moral, and political reading of the classical novel. He viewed it not so much as a work of literature as a resource for his own times. If properly interpreted, he believed, the *Tale of Genji* had universal relevance for what it revealed of human nature, for the historical lessons that it embodied, and for its potential impact on contemporary society.⁴⁷⁸

Even though the work discussed in this case is not a *gunki*, but a Heian courtly classic, and the commentary had no *hyō* in the title, the approach adopted by Banzan is essentially identical to the *hyōban* commentary on the *Heike* and other texts. Drawing direct comparisons between the content of the *Tale of Genji* and the early Edo world, Banzan identified both

⁴⁷⁷ Nakanoin Michishige was a prominent poetry scholar who lectured on poetry at the imperial court, and also to the daimyo Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628-1701), and his retainers. Serving as a liaison officer (*buke tensō* 武家伝奏), a court official charged with acting as an intermediary between the imperial court and the bakufu, Nakanoin Michishige had close contact with both institutions.

⁴⁷⁸ James McMullen, "Courtier and Confucian in Seventeenth-Century Japan: A Dialogue on the "Tale of Genji" between Nakanoin Michishige and Kumazawa Banzan," *Japan Review* 21 (2009): 15.

praiseworthy and cautionary elements in the text, and used its content as a point of departure for criticizing society of the Tokugawa times and even denouncing the gradual decline of morality which had already begun, in his view, in the times of Genji,⁴⁷⁹ with further deterioration in later times when military houses came to power. The following example shows how Banzan used Genji's plain breakfast described in the *Suetsumuhana* chapter to comment on the situation of his own time, which he clearly found lamentable and unsatisfactory:

In a subsequent book as well, when Genji stays at Saga, the text refers simply to “his fruit and *kowaii*” [steamed rice]. This is the pure, simple style. [...] If it were today, some sort of feast would have been involved. Congee and *kowaii* are not used now, even while hawking. Because frugality like this used to prevail in the past, the populace was affluent, and the age of court nobles continued for seventeen or eighteen hundred years without a tremor. The taxation of the people was the Chinese *kung-fa* system, involving the payment of one tenth [of the total product]. [...] At that time, soldiers were drawn from among the peasantry. This was because [under that system] mobilization and taking to the field were speedy and involved no extravagance; thus neither civil nor military performance was neglected. With the rise of the military houses, however, [regimes] do not last even as long as three hundred years. That within merely a little over five hundred years there have been successive changes through [the regimes of] Kiyomori, Yoritomo, the Hōjō, the Ashikaga, Nobunaga, and Hideyoshi, and that periods of good government have been short is because the pure, simple style has been replaced by excessive fineness, the farmer-soldier and *kung-fa* systems have been destroyed, high and low are indolent, and the people suffer.⁴⁸⁰

Interestingly, the courtier Michishige removed this comment from his own draft and from the clean copy of the joint commentary, apparently being uncomfortable with “Banzan’s vigorous, radical, practical, and didactic interpretation of the *Genji*,”⁴⁸¹ and cautiously wishing to avoid negative comments on the contemporary situation that could be interpreted with suspicion by

⁴⁷⁹ According to Banzan, the historical setting of the *Tale of Genji* was the final phase of the “kingly age,” the transitional period between the ideal antiquity and later age of decline. In other words, the fictional world of the *Tale of Genji* was understood as a history of the mid-Heian period.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 19-20. Translation by McMullen.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 21.

bakufu authorities. In this case, Genji's modest breakfast was enough to trigger a lengthy discussion about frugality and the excessive luxury of rulers, with historical comparison of different eras and cautionary lamentation about the present situation.

These examples demonstrate that the practice of scholars interacting with high-level officials as advisors by means of critical commentaries continued throughout the Edo period. Scholars were not necessarily related to the field of military studies, and their didactic commentary and admonition could also be expressed in Confucian or Shintoist terms. The basic text onto which the didactic content was grafted also did not have to be a medieval war tale. Historical texts, Shinto classics, and the courtly *Tale of Genji* could function as a starting point of a discussion on leadership and ethics. In the following section, I focus on a specific commentary that is remarkably close to the *Heike hyōban* in terms of style, rhetoric, and content.

7.4 The *Teikanhyō* as a Key to the *Heike hyōban*

The above discussion by Kumazawa Banzan based on the content of the *Tale of Genji* is not the only example of this *hyōban*-like exegetical approach seen in works created in the middle of the seventeenth century. Several decades earlier, between the 1630s and 1650s, exactly when Banzan was serving daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa, a group of bakufu vassals and Mitsumasa himself jointly produced the *Evaluative Commentary on the Imperial Mirror* (*Teikanhyō* 帝鑑評), in which a similar approach is applied to the Chinese didactic text *Illustrated Imperial Mirror* (Ch. *Dijian tushuo*, J. *Teikan zusetu* 帝鑑図説, published in 1572, and in Japan in 1606) by Ming scholar Zhang Juzheng (張居正, 1525-1582), describing positive and negative examples drawn from the imperial history of China. This commentary resembles the *Heike hyōban* most closely among the works I could find. Since in this case, the names of the people involved are known, it is possible to identify the milieu in which such works, including the *Heike hyōban*, originated.

Analysis of the *Teikanhyō* reveals important details about the process of the creation of works similar to the *Heike hyōban*.

The *Teikanhyō* is primarily significant as a text that grew out of a reading circle or a reading discussion group (*rindokukai* 輪読会) formed around an acting daimyo in the mid-seventeenth century. This particular group was mostly Confucian in its ideals and views on history. Five people were involved in its creation: four bakufu vassals and Ikeda Mitsumasa himself, who wrote the preface. The text consists of four parts written by different commentators and later compiled into a single volume. This collective project to discuss and record one's own opinions about the good and bad deeds of Chinese emperors covered only thirty-five stories out of a hundred and seventeen found in the *Teikan zusetsu*, which suggests an abrupt stop. The literary scholar Iriguchi Atsushi proposes that the reading group stopped its activities after the anti-bakufu attempted a revolt, led by *rōnin* scholar Yui Shōsetsu, in 1651. Subsequent gatherings affiliated with critics such as Banzan were suspected to be sources of potential trouble.⁴⁸² In any case, the comments were created in the following way: the group used the Japanese woodblock-printed edition of the text (either a 1627 or 1650 version kept in the collection of Ikeda Mitsumasa), and each member produced a comment on his portion of the text, presenting it personally during the gatherings (or perhaps in written form by correspondence). In the 1937 description of the work, the historian and educator Kurachi Tadashi 蔵知矩 (1869-1944), commissioned by the Ikeda family to research and arrange texts in the family archive, notes as follows: "Binding them [five parts] into one volume Ikeda Mitsumasa

⁴⁸² Iriguchi Atsushi, "Teikan zusetsu no yomarekata: Teikanhyō o chūshin ni," in Iriguchi Atsushi, *Buke kenryoku to bungaku* (Perikansha, 2013), 233.

had it by himself as a treasure and constantly liked to read it.”⁴⁸³ Apparently, the manuscript used by Mitsumasa also had handwritten marks showing his attachment to the commentary studied as a personal guide. The text was not published and remained in Mitsumasa’s private possession. It may seem that any daimyo’s action is meant for a public display of authority, but in this case the daimyo kept the text for personal cultivation, being fond of Confucian ideas as taught by Banzan and discussed by his disciples. This private concern with teachings was likely shared by other daimyo lords who formed similar study groups and invited lecturers of various kinds. Nevertheless, it is unknown whether the text was meant for publication or not, and it is possible that once completed the commentary would be published eventually for local retainers or a wider audience.

Iriguchi Atsushi finds similarity between ideas expressed in the *Teikanhyō* and in Banzan’s *Accumulating Righteousness: A Japanese Miscellany* (*Shūgi washo* 集義和書, printed for private circulation in 1672): both recommend virtuous policy based on benevolence, lack of avarice, and frugality. Discussion about “benevolent government” (*jinsei* 仁政) was a common feature of early-Edo political thought in general, and the idea itself is found in other works like warrior family precepts (*kakun* 家訓) or Ikeda Mitsumasa’s diary. Banzan’s contribution was to theoretically place it as the basis of the Japanese state since Emperor Jinmu.⁴⁸⁴ Both Iriguchi and Kurachi note criticism of the bakufu and dissatisfaction with the present situation as themes of the *Teikanhyō* comments. Kurachi points out the difficulty for bakufu vassals to express critical

⁴⁸³ 之を綴りて壹冊とし烈公座右の珍として不断之を愛読し給ひしものなり。
Kurachi Tadashi, “*Teikanhyō kaidai*,” in *Teikanhyō*, ed. Ikeda Mitsumasa (Okayama, Japan: Ikeda-ke Okayama jimusho, 1937), 35.

⁴⁸⁴ Iriguchi Atsushi, “*Teikan zusetsu no yomarekata: Teikanhyō o chūshin ni*,” 249.

opinions about warrior rule in the early Edo period,⁴⁸⁵ and Iriguchi finds it surprising to see such thoughts expressed by a bakufu vassal, who later rose to the post of a senior councillor (*rōjū* 老中), one of the highest posts in the bakufu hierarchy.⁴⁸⁶ This significant piece of evidence indicates that outspoken discussion about governance and society took place within the bakufu by its own daimyo (who had some autonomous local authority) and their retainers. It implies that such discussion was not necessarily carried out by outsiders, such as literate townsmen, merchants, or unemployed warriors (*rōnin*). This shows the complexity of the bakufu and the fact that it was more than a top-down uniform structure, instead consisting of multiple groups that could disagree with each other. For example, Ikeda Mitsumasa was open to complaints himself, and also admonished the shogun in 1654 and a senior councillor in 1668.⁴⁸⁷ Even if internal tensions and dissatisfaction with policies were not always harmonious and could be seen as seeds of trouble, disagreement and criticism aimed at improvement rather than rejection of the entire bakufu system. Thus, for example, in the *Shūgi washō*, Banzan impartially criticizes emperors, nobles, and warriors. The same attitude is shared by his disciples who composed the *Teikanhyō*, and is also the basis of many comments in the *Heike hyōban*. In all of these works, the tendency is to discuss the good and bad deeds of rulers and their qualities, without attaching excessive importance to the rulers' background. It seems that early Heian emperors receive more praise in these works than medieval shoguns because they are seen as closer in time and attitude to the ideal sages of antiquity, and not because they are nobles. At the same time, some medieval warrior rulers are praised more than "bad" emperors.

⁴⁸⁵ Kurachi Tadashi, "Teikanhyō kaidai," 39.

⁴⁸⁶ Iriguchi Atsushi, "Teikan zusei no yomarekata: Teikanhyō o chūshin ni," 244.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 252.

Let us consider specific passages from the *Teikanhyō* that show the style and content of the commentary collectively created by bakufu vassals and a daimyo, all of whom were in their 30s or 40s. Here are several parts from the preface by Ikeda Mitsumasa:

The *Imperial Mirror* is a mirror of many generations of Chinese emperors. Now, in Japan as well, as a daily mirror of rulers it can wash away dirt in the hearts. [...]

In general, when one thinks about the original nature of divine sages of High Antiquity appearing in the world, [one sees that] the world is nothing but a pulse of benevolence. [...]

Being a human and not having ambition [that consists in] wishing for wisdom is like not living for days. Being a ruler and not studying the past of Yao and Shun is to go against Heaven. It is like not living for years. [...]

Even when I look at myself, I am a madman who has lost his heart/mind from the beginning. [...]⁴⁸⁸

Mitsumasa explains his view of the *Teikan zusetsu* that it should serve to “wash away dirt in the hearts” of rulers in Japan, including himself. The theme of the entire *Teikanhyō* is mentioned as well: benevolence and the purification of a ruler’s heart/mind. Mitsumasa also acknowledges a ruler’s aspiration for wisdom modeled on the rule of ancient sages, and humbly describes himself as “a madman who has lost his mind.” Unfortunately, the preface does not make clear why the group of commentators decided to record their own opinions about this work, but this process was apparently part of a standard procedure of studying a text in a group. Reading and then discussing a text in the form of “evaluation” (*hyō*) comments was likely part of a usual didactic process, and it may also be the case that it was understood as a way to use one’s mind to think actively about the content, thereby “washing away dirt” in one’s own heart/mind in the process.

⁴⁸⁸ *Teikanhyō*, ed. Ikeda Mitsumasa (Okayama, Japan: Ikeda-ke Okayama jimusho, 1937), 1-3. 夫帝鑑はもろこしの代々の御門の御鑑なり今蘆原にても国君世主の日々のかゝみとして心の垢を洗ひ給ふへき者也[...] 凡上古の神聖世にあらはれ給ひし本地を思ひみるも世界は唯是慈悲の一脈のみ也[...] 人として賢をこひねかふ志なきは不生日在かことし君として堯舜の昔を学び給はさるは君の天にそむき給へる也不生年在かことし[...] 我心よりみれとも我本より心をうしなふ狂人たり [...]

The first part of the comments was written by Kuze Yamatonokami (Hiroyuki) 久世大和守 (1609-1679), a bakufu vassal who later rose to the status of senior councillor, and even became a daimyo himself in 1669, remaining so until his death. He was a disciple of Banzan for a long time, and like other commentators served the second shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579-1632, r. 1605 -1623). He wrote:

The ambition of a sage to rule the empire rests not on fame or gain, but on benevolence. Acting benevolently toward the empire begins with seeking sages and wise people as vassals. [...] When one plans to make life easier for people of the empire, the primary matter is to employ wise people. This point should be taken as a model by rulers of later generations.⁴⁸⁹

This passage mentions the key points of sage rule: benevolence and the employment of wise people is the goal, and not personal fame and gain. These points are often repeated in the *Heike hyōban*, too. The last sentence is direct advice to later rulers, a typical conclusion for many comments in the *Heike hyōban*. In this case, the ruler addressed is likely Ikeda Mitsumasa, although the advice is phrased in general terms to apply to any ruler.

In the next comment, Kuze Yamatonokami develops a lengthy discussion based on the original text's point about hunting the minimal number of animals needed, without excess. Starting with a description of the "age of sages" (*seidai* 聖代) and stating that "the basis of the heart/mind of a ruler is unselfishness,"⁴⁹⁰ he expresses views on Japan, the role of Emperor Jinmu, and the present anxiety:

⁴⁸⁹ *Teikanhyō*, 3-4. [...] 聖人の天下を治めたまふ御心さし名にあらず利にあらず仁愛をもつて本としたまふその仁愛を天下に行へきはしめは臣下に聖人賢人を求めるにあり [...] 天下の民をやすくせん事をはかりたまふに賢人をあけたまふよりさきなるはなし末代の国君世主かゝ見たまふへきところなり

⁴⁹⁰ *Teikanhyō*, 7. 世主の御心無欲なるか本なり [...]

Japan has many treasures, it is called Hōrai [Ch. Penglai]⁴⁹¹ island by other countries, although they wish [to take] this country, they cannot do it fearing the power of this country which is superior in bravery. So, when emperor Jinmu began to open this land, seeing its features he [found that] despite its small size, it surpassed various countries in geographical fortune. Since the climate was also mild he called it *Wakoku* (land of harmony). Since despite its small size, it matches large states in wisdom and people have divine spirit, he called it *Shinkoku* (land of deities). Then, considering it lamentable that the abundance of treasures will attract Ebisu (Barbarians) and will end up bringing virtues into disorder, he had [people] in the country always practice military arts. These are archery and horseback riding. So, first of all, having the virtue of great compassion as the basis shining inside him, he had authority and power of a divine warrior (*jinmu* 神武). Accordingly, he was called emperor Jinmu. Continuity of warrior bravery and country's firmness and stability depend on frugality. Thus, when lord and warriors are frugal and simple, then internally their minds are clear and externally their willpower and muscles are strong. [...] Following this principle as the model, emperors themselves respected simplicity. Their benevolence was due to the influence of Jinmu's virtue, and this country's bravery did not decline for several thousand years. Since the time when the Taira family began to live in luxury and Minamoto no Yoritomo monopolized power, Jinmu's rule gradually declined. Nevertheless, due to its warmth of several thousand years it has reached the present. It is like the heat [of summer] that still lingers even when the season is already autumn. If rulers of later times do not quickly restore Jinmu's rule, this country is in danger. If it survives, it will certainly be seized by the Mongols (Manchus)⁴⁹² and will become a land of beasts.⁴⁹³ Otherwise [if Jinmu's rule is not restored], spirits of mountains and rivers decline, people become weak and the country is close to dying prematurely.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹¹ In Chinese mythology, Mount Penglai 蓬莱 is a legendary mountain of immortals located on an island in the eastern sea.

⁴⁹² There is an expression, *Mukuri Kokuri* 蒙古高句麗, literally meaning “Mongols and Koguryo (Goguryeo),” which apparently dates from the Kamakura period, when Mongol and Goryeo (918-1392) forces attacked Japan in 1274 and 1281. It had negative meanings such as “demons, anything scary” and “unreasonable, unjust.” Here, it certainly refers to the Manchus, who founded Qing China replacing the Ming dynasty in 1644.

⁴⁹³ *Chikushōkoku* 畜生国: the land of brutes; the land of foolish, immoral people. This Buddhist term refers to one of the Six Realms of existence into which people are reborn as animals for their sins.

⁴⁹⁴ *Teikanhyō*, 8-9. 和国は宝おほくして異国より蓬莱の嶋とよひ此国をのそむといへとも武勇に長したる国なればその威におそれてかなはず故に神武天皇此国をひらかせたまひしそのはしめ此国の地利を御らせらるゝに小国なりといへとも国の地福諸国にすくれたり天地の気も和したるゆへに和国と称し小国なりといへとも智も大国につき人通に神靈なるゆへに神国と名付たまへり扱うれふところはたからおほくしてゑひすのためにのそまれ仁義を乱されなんとおほしめし国常に武の芸にあそはしめたまふ弓馬これなり故に御身先達て大慈大悲の仁徳を内照根本として神武の威力おはします故に神武天皇と名付たて

As can be seen from this comment, the author's thinking is influenced not only by Confucianism, but contains Shinto elements (such as *shinkoku*, spirits, and Emperor Jinmu), reverence for the ancient emperors of Japan, and a firm emphasis on the need for military arts. The ideal ruler, like Emperor Jinmu, is required to combine compassion and frugality with military arts and bravery. This type of simple, good rule was seen as declining from the late Heian period, a trend that began with the Taira (who were represented as lacking frugality), and continued with Yoritomo (who was seen as monopolizing power). References to luxury and the monopolization of power may hint at mid-seventeenth century circumstances which were the primary concerns of the author. Anxiety about foreign "Barbarians" (Ebisu) was believed to be a constant threat recognized by Emperor Jinmu, and was still acutely felt in the early Edo period in the form of the Manchus. The only remedy, in accordance with the concept of balancing the civil and the martial (*bunbu*), was frugality and benevolence of rule, ensuring internal stability and warrior strength in neutralizing outside threats. The call to restore Jinmu's rule or Jinmu-style rule may be read as support for the imperial court, but emphasis is placed on the specific set of qualities a ruler should have, and not on imperial or warrior status. Again, the sense of dissatisfaction with the current situation and the solutions—which were based on a mix of Confucian, Shinto, and military ideas, presented as an ideal model from the antiquity of the sage rulers—are essentially identical in this *Teikanhyō* comment and in opinions found in the *Heike hyōban*.

まつる武勇長久にして国堅固ならん事は儉約にありしかるゆへは君と士と儉約素朴なれば内は心明かに外は気力筋体つよし[...]
此ことほりをかゝ見たまひて天皇御身みつから素朴を尊ひたまひけるなりその仁愛神武の徳の余慶によりて此国の武勇数千年におとろえず平の一家おこりをはしめ源の頼朝権を専らにせしより此かた神武の御政漸おとろへぬしかれとも数千年のあたゝまりをもつて今にいたりぬ秋すてに立といへとも暑なほのこれるかとし今より後の世主急に神武の政を中興したまはすは此国あやうきにありもしなからへはむくりかためにうはゝれて畜生国となりてありぬへししからすは山川の神気おとろへ人はよはくなりて国も夭死するにちかし

The following comment by the same person, Kuze Yamatonokami, resembles a typical *Heike hyōban* discussion:

[...] Disorder [in a state] is irregular and order is normal. Human illness is irregular and lack of illness is normal. In case of illness there is medicine. In case of disorder there is the Way. An ill person meets with a physician and returns to the normal state without illness. A lord of a disordered state should learn the Way and return [the state] into a normal state of peace. A state in disorder does not mean military disturbance, it means a state in which human minds are in confusion and manners are in chaos. [...] A ruler, first of all, should perhaps feel shame [for lacking virtue and not fixing disorder].⁴⁹⁵

The preferred topic of chaos vs. order in a state is here discussed as a medical metaphor of illness and recuperation. The definition of disorder as the confusion of human minds and manners puts emphasis on the internal attitude rather than external physical conflict, and places the responsibility for allowing chaos to happen on the ruler, whose lack of virtue is a “shame.” This view of disorder and the ruler’s role is one of the recurring ideas in the *Heike hyōban*, too.

Since the *Teikanhyō* is a collective work, it is unavoidable that members of the group have their own life experiences, interests, opinions, and writing styles that affect their comments. As a result, the overall work loses in uniformity, but gains in the individuality of opinions. The text, being a work based on discussion gatherings of like-minded people, may function as a souvenir—a record which allows participants to recreate memorable interaction and recall the “voices” of other members. In the case of *Teikanhyō*, it is clear who composed each section, while in texts like the *Heike hyōban*, it is impossible to identify how many people were involved and which part was done by whom. The *Teikanhyō* provides firm evidence that such commentaries were indeed created collectively, and gives credibility to a hypothesis about multiple authorship of the *Heike hyōban*.

⁴⁹⁵ *Teikanhyō*, 10. [...] 乱は変にして治は常なり人病疾は変なり無病は常なり病あれば薬あり乱あれば道あり病者は薬師にあふて無病の常にかへり乱国の君は道を学ひて太平の常にかへしたまふへし乱国とは兵乱にあらず人心まとひ風俗乱たる国なり [...] 国君世主先達て恥をおもひたまふへきことにや

Next I will consider several passages by other commentators to show the range of topics covered and the differences between their styles. The following comment was written by Arao Heihachirō (Kunari) 荒尾平八郎 (1602-1674), a bakufu vassal related by marriage to the Ikeda family.⁴⁹⁶ The episode of Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (J. Yōkihi, 719-756 CE), assessed as beautiful but not virtuous, leads him to the following discussion about women:

[...] When a wife has wisdom and virtue, it is an especially great fortune. This blessing lasts not only one lifetime, but continues without limit even to the generation of descendants. It is like welcoming a deity of fortune into one's family. [In general], there are three virtues of women. The first one is appearance, the second one is women's work, and the third one is wisdom. It is difficult to have all three. A woman with good looks thinks "since I have best looks, people love me" and she does not even pay attention to women's work, not to mention that she does not think at all about succeeding in the way of character and behaviour. Thus, it is rare that a beauty has a good heart. Full preoccupation with appearance has led to disasters of broken families and destroyed descendants. Among those who have bad appearance there are women who pay attention to women's work and possess wisdom and virtue. However, when people consider beauty the basis, they do not love them [women who are not pretty], and their virtues are of no use. Overall, husband and wife are companions. Beauty is a brief amusement and not the [main point of] a couple's interaction. [A couple] should converse and find delight just as companions of heart/mind. [...]⁴⁹⁷

The advice seems to be not to focus exclusively on women's appearance and to value virtue in women, thereby avoiding disasters that threaten a family or a state. The comment continues, ending with an optimistic note about Heaven giving blessings to rulers who cultivate compassion, one of which is a rare wife with both beauty and virtue.

⁴⁹⁶ Kurachi Tadashi, "Teikanhyō kaidai," 36.

⁴⁹⁷ *Teikanhyō*, 13. [...] 妻に賢徳有は一入大なる幸也我身一代のみならず子孫の代までの福限なし福神を家にむかゆるかことし夫女子の三徳あり一には容儀二には女事三には賢也此三かね備る事有かたし容儀よき女は吾は第一の貌よければ人の愛する所也とおもひて女事にも心かけず況や心たて身持道に叶ふやうにとは露も思はず故に容儀好女に心のよきは希也貌に満心有て家を破り子孫を亡す禍と成ぬ容儀あしきには女事をよく勤賢徳有女ある物也然とも人色を以て本とすれば是を愛せざる故に其徳用にたゝす夫ふうふは友たち也色は一朝花鳥のもてあそひにして夫婦のかたらひにあらず唯心を友として語あそふべき事也 [...]

The next comment by Arao is a curious opinion about empire, the resourcefulness of generals, and the eventual triumph of virtuous people who keep a low profile:

[...] When one thinks about troubles from antiquity [...] the empire is not something that is taken. The empire was something that others allowed to be taken, but thinking that it was something that could be taken, [they] were consumed [with ambition], exerted themselves, and in the end lost even what they had [originally]. From antiquity, states perished supported by warriors who excelled in strategy, and there was no one among them who did not end up badly, too. When people are numerous they are a force that prevails over Heaven, and temporarily resourceful people wield power. When Heaven is settled, it is the principle that prevails over people, and eventually able warriors and skilled generals perish, and it becomes the empire of humble people of virtue. Perceiving this well, one should not make use of ability that has harm for the empire and [one's] family. It is simply that ability is not hidden. When one knows virtue, without hiding it, it is hidden.⁴⁹⁸

Apparently, the point is about the imbalance of the civil and the martial in favour of the latter, and about the temporary nature of the success of those generals who rely only on skill and force. Military ingenuity without virtue can give temporary power, but in the long run, heavenly justice transfers the empire into the hands of the “virtuous.” This observation, mainly based on Chinese history, may also hint at Japanese historical figures like Yoritomo and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Taken as praise, it means that they cultivated virtue, staying out of conflicts in which others openly competed, and in the end they gained the state. As a critical comment, however, it may be interpreted as a statement against the Tokugawa, who took power by ingenuity and force, and would eventually be overpowered by “virtuous” daimyo who remain unknown. The second reading explains why discussion circles with *rōnin*, or as in this case with bakufu vassals, were regarded with suspicion by central bakufu authorities.

⁴⁹⁸ *Teikanhyō*, 14-15. [...] 古しへよりの事変を考みるに[...] 天下はとらるゝ物にあらず人のとらする物也けるをとらるゝ物と覚えて胸をこかし骨を折てをはりには本まで失ふ也古しへより武略に達したる士たすけし国も亡ひ其身も果あしからさるはなし人多時は天に勝勢ひにて一旦は知謀ある者威をふるふ物也天定る時は人に勝理りにて終には才士謀将亡ひて拙き徳有人の天下と成ぬ能々勘へて其天下にも害に其家にも害有才を用ゆへからず只才はかくれぬ物也徳をしれば次第にかくさすしてかくるゝ物也

The following comment by Arao illustrates how the proper state structure was understood:

People should live on the land, and warrior-officials should administer people. So, when feudal lords and emperors have land they establish peaceful dwellings of people. When they have people, they select warrior-officials and have them guard districts and villages. Thus, gentlemen and people of low status all obtain their place and there is no resentment. [...] Also, a gentleman is one who makes people fully express their skills and one who does not have own skills. A person of low status makes use of own skills and thinks that others do not have skills. A gentleman keeps the state, and a person of low status is unable to keep the state. For this reason, virtue is lord's [quality] and skill is vassal's [quality]. [...] One can know about the virtue of [emperor] Gao-zu by the fact that he was supported by wise vassals and great warrior-officials. [...]⁴⁹⁹

The description is quite close to the actual structure of the Edo period, with the role of warrior-officials defined as administrators over villagers. The difference lies in the proposition to have warrior-officials guard districts and villages, and in the idea of lords selecting them according to their skills, without any mention of hereditary rights. Emphasis on the requirement for a ruler to possess virtue is tied unexpectedly to his lack of skills. Practical skills are the domain of vassals, and the ruler's virtue attracts wise and able officials, and creates the necessary conditions for them to make full use of their skills. The next comment continues the discussion of the properties and goals of government:

Teachings come from masters, rule comes from lords. Who provided both teachings and rule? They came from the Sages. Thus, the Sages are lords and masters of all ages. [...] Teachings and government are not two [separate] things. What do teachings teach? They teach humanity. What does government do? It manifests humanity. So, when one does not study taking sages as teachers, it is impossible to have loyalty to one's lord and filial piety to one's parents. Thus, a person who despises and speaks ill of the sages has no lord and no parent in the heart. Those who he considers a lord and parents for a while are not

⁴⁹⁹ *Teikanhyō*, 15. 地は民の居へき処民は士のつかさとるへき者也故に諸侯天子地有時は民の安宅を定め民ある時は士を選ひて郡国郷村を守らしむ故に君子小人皆其所を得て恨なし[...] 又人の才を尽さしめて己才なき者は君子なり己か才を用て人を才なしとする者は小人たり君子は国天下を保小人は国天下を保事あたはす此故に徳は君也才は臣也[...] 賢臣英士に助られ給ふを以て高祖の徳を知へし[...]

true lord and parents. He considers fame and wealth his lord and parents. One should fear it. [...]⁵⁰⁰

The origin of both the principles of government and the teachings are ancient sages. Arao, as one of the “purer” Confucian scholars among the commentators, advocates the centrality of Confucian teachings in government. Having sincere respect in one’s “heart” for the sages is a prerequisite for loyalty and filial piety, while disrespect is synonymous with the pursuit of fame and personal gain, seen as incompatible with the positions of a ruler or official. Discussion of this kind is common in commentaries of the *hyōban* type, and shows that adult members of discussion circles around daimyo lords went beyond a simple reading of Confucian and historical texts and made effort to interact with the texts by composing short essays or comments of a didactic nature, practicing their rhetorical skills related to government and admonition of superiors. It may well be the case that members of the group shared interest in Confucian ideas, which they supported as a counterweight against Buddhism, for example.⁵⁰¹

Let us now consider several comments by another member of the group in order to illustrate the diversity of commentators’ backgrounds. The following comment is by Kuze Sanshirō (Hiromasa) 久世三四郎 (1598-1660), elder brother of Kuze Yamatonokami. His

⁵⁰⁰ *Teikanhyō*, 15-16. 教は師に出治は君に出教治共に誰か出せる聖人より出たり故に聖人は万代の君師也 [...] 教と政と二にあらず教と云は何を教るなれば人道を教る也政と云は何をするなれば人道を明かにする也故に聖賢を師とし学ひさる時は君に忠あり親に孝有事不能故に聖賢を屑り誇る者其心に君なく親なし一旦君とし親とする者は真の君親にあらず名利を以て君親とす身つからおそるべき事也 [...]

⁵⁰¹ See Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 39-41. According to Richard Rubinger, one reason for an official policy to support education among commoners was “the strong desire of the daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa (1609-1682) to reduce the influence exerted by Buddhist temples among the populace and to replace it with Confucian ideology to be instilled through popular schools under the daimyo’s control” (p. 39). It should also be noted that Mitsumasa’s practical education policies were rooted in, or at least consistent with, the ideas expressed in the *Teikanhyō* and other texts such as his diaries. Despite the efforts of some daimyo like Mitsumasa to break the monopoly of priests over commoner education, in the seventeenth century a “lack of educational support from feudal authorities for their own samurai, to say nothing of commoners, was the rule. Learning outside the home took place, as it had in medieval times, within the precincts of temples and shrines in most villages.” (p. 41).

biography is extraordinary for the mostly peaceful Tokugawa period: he was a bakufu vassal and a military officer who fought in the Osaka siege in 1615, defeated two enemy warriors, and was rewarded with a five-hundred-*koku* piece of land.⁵⁰² This warrior's participation in the discussion circle is interesting in itself. In addition, he was likely the oldest person in the group, having been born in 1598, eleven years before the daimyo Mitsumasa. During this discussion, he would have been somewhere between forty and sixty years old. One of his comments is as follows:

A good general has the same mind with warriors and has the same task. He does not advance alone and does not retreat alone. [...] There is no way to attack such a state [with ruler and subjects unified] even among the techniques of Sunzi and Wuzi.⁵⁰³ This is how a wise lord rules over the empire. Moreover, since the civil and the martial are the yin and yang of Heaven and important matters of statecraft, one certainly makes people learn archery and horsemanship. A state at war considers the civil its basis and uses the martial. A state in order considers the martial as preparedness and practices the civil. [...]⁵⁰⁴

Emphasis is placed on the unity of a ruler and his subjects, and on the necessity of keeping balance between the civil and the martial. Kuze Sanshirō's veteran warrior background is noticeable in the mention of Chinese military studies and in the insistence to make warriors learn archery and horsemanship, even in peacetime.

In another comment he states:

Being humble is a virtue, being cunning is treachery. This is because all disasters in a state come from cunning people. [...]

When a human heart/mind is in confusion, even foxes and badgers have divine powers.

⁵⁰² Kurachi Tadashi, "*Teikanhyō* kaidai," 37.

⁵⁰³ This is a reference to two of the *Seven Military Classics*, the *Sunzi's Art of War* and the *Wuzi*.

⁵⁰⁴ *Teikanhyō*, 16-17. 良将は衆と心を同じ用を同じて独すゝます独退かさらしむ[...]
かくのことくなる国を伐法は孫呉か術にもなき事也是聖賢の君天下を威す処なり其上文武は天の陰陽に
して治国の大事なれば弓馬を習はしむる事勿論の事也軍国は文を以本とし武を以用とす治国は武を以備
として文を行もの也[...]

When society has no Way and when cleverness is considered knowledge, the lord and ruler should discern the source of disorder!⁵⁰⁵

Cunning and clever people are blamed for all disasters and disorder in a state. Cleverness is despised and simplicity is praised as a virtue. The ruler is called on to discern between cleverness and wisdom, and to keep one's mind without confusion. This emphasis on heart/mind and knowledge of people's nature, as well as the final direct advice to the ruler, are features identical to those of the *Heike hyōban*.

The importance of heart/mind and wisdom is also emphasized in the next comment:

The primary duty of a ruler is to employ wise, learned people. [...]
Overall, there are things that people see as good, but Heaven (*ten*) sees as not good. There are things that people see as bad, but Heaven sees as good. This is not found in actions, but in one's heart/mind. This is unavoidably suspicious for ordinary people. [...]⁵⁰⁶

The commentator suggests a certain link between the heart/mind and Heaven as the supreme judge. People's judgments, however, are untrustworthy and may not match those of Heaven in some cases.

The next comment is devoted to the topic of slander, a matter of practical significance in a daimyo's or any ruler's court:

Blocking loyal vassals and good people who benefit the state has been a petty feeling in the past and present. In some cases, [people] slander loyal vassals because of competition for power. In some cases—as the proverb says “a beauty is the enemy of ugly women”—even without any grudge, they dislike changing their bad manners. When a good person appears, they dislike the fact that their evil becomes visible and they slander. It does not happen that a bad person with power is severely slandered. This is because bad people,

⁵⁰⁵ *Teikanhyō*, 18. 夫拙きは徳にして巧みなるは賊なりいかんとなれば天下の凶事は皆巧みなる者より出たり [...] 人心迷ふ時は狐狸も神通を得世道なき時は利口を知とす時君世主乱の源を能弁へ給ふへし

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 19-20. 君王学者の賢なるを上げ給ふ事第一の御勤なり [...] 惣して人見てよしとすれとも天の見る事よからさる者あり人見て悪しとすれとも天の見る事よき者あり行にあらすして心根に有事なり平人の疑ひをまぬかれさる所なり [...]

who would slander, are all of the same mind as that powerful bad person, they like him and together they support evil [deeds]. Good people frown and withdraw. [...] ⁵⁰⁷

This general overview of different typical situations and motivations for slander are apparently meant to caution a daimyo about the ubiquity of slander that targets loyal vassals. Psychological analysis of intrigues and slander is a common topic in political didactic commentaries, including the *Heike hyōban*, testifying to the importance of the problem.

The biography and participation of this commentator in the *Teikanhyō* project convincingly show that a veteran warrior could take part in a mostly Confucian discussion, and that being a warrior did not mean rejection of the civil in favour of the martial. As shown by the *Teikanhyō* and works like the *Heike hyōban*, early-Edo discussions about statecraft and ethics could weave together Confucian, Shinto, Buddhist, and military studies concepts into a more or less harmonious whole. Moreover, the above example proves that this kind of didactic discussion about leadership and statecraft interested not only refined scholars or idle and bureaucratized warrior-officials, but also “real” warriors of the early-Edo period who had battlefield experience.

Let us finally discuss several passages about admonition and “true” learning by the last commentator, Ibi Yoemon (Masatsuna) 揖斐与右衛門 (?-1692), a bakufu vassal with a nine-hundred-*koku* income in 1641. In one of the comments, he mentions the end of the Ming dynasty in 1644, a chronological detail that helps narrow down the time frame of the work’s creation: “In the three thousand years from king Wen, king Wu and the Duke of Zhou to the present end of

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 20. 国に益ある忠臣善人をさまたくる事は古今の凡情なり或は権勢を争ふ心より忠臣を讒し或は美女は悪女のかたきといへる諺のことく何の遺恨もなければとも己か不行儀を改むる事はいやなり善人のあらはるゝほと己か悪しきかあらはるゝ事をいやかりてそしりぬるあり悪人にして権勢ある者をはけしく讒する事なきもの也如何となれば讒するやうなる悪人は皆かの権勢の悪人と同心なれば気に入ともに悪を助く善人の分は眉をひそめ引籠故なり[...]

Great Ming [...].”⁵⁰⁸ In another comment, he advocates attention to anybody’s admonitions: “A ruler should consider all people in the state as retainers who admonish and consult [...].”⁵⁰⁹ In the next comment, Ibi makes a distinction between a pedantic technical approach to Confucian learning and another approach focusing on virtue:

What is called “Confucianism of small-minded people”? Thinking of learning as accomplishment is called “Confucianism of small-minded people.” What is called “Confucianism of virtuous men”? Learning and reaching virtue, [then] reforming others by means of virtue: this is called “Confucianism of virtuous men.” Similarly, even if one has read the Nine Confucian Classics of the Sages thinking of them as accomplishment, then it is called “lesser learning.” When [one read them and] reaches virtue, it is called “greater learning.” [...]⁵¹⁰

A similar preoccupation with “true” and “false” kinds of teachings under the same label of Buddhism, military studies, or Confucianism is also found in the *Heike hyōban*, suggesting a competition between different schools and approaches, and a sense of dissatisfaction with other groups appropriating the label and replacing “true” and original content with “wrong” or “corrupt” content. The focus on virtue (or heart/mind) rather than texts is similar in both works, too.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the *Teikanhyō* and the group who created it should be considered representative or anomalies in the seventeenth century. We can surmise that different daimyo lords would have invited teachers and lecturers, formed discussion circles, and compiled commentaries with different kinds of content. A set commentarial style and format was common and was applied to works like the *Tale of Genji* by Kumazawa Banzan, the *Teikan*

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 23. 文武周公の後今大明の末に及まで三千年の内[...]

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 24. [...]君たる人は一国の人民を皆諫議の臣とし給ふへし[...]

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 26. 何をか小人の儒と云曰学を以芸とする是を小人の儒と云何をか君子の儒と云曰学て徳に入徳を以人を化する是を君子の儒と云なり同しく聖人の四書五経を読ぬれとも芸とする時は是を小学と云徳に入時は是を大学と云[...]

zusesu by Ikeda Mitsumasa's group, and the *Heike* by anonymous compiler(s) of the *Heike hyōban*.

The *Teikanhyō*, as an unfinished work (perhaps a draft of a planned commentary) with identifiable authors, can be said to be a key to the *Heike hyōban*, with which it shares basic format, style, and commentarial stance. The *Teikanhyō* provides evidence suggesting that commentaries of this kind 1) were created at the level of daimyo and bakufu vassals, 2) had multiple authors with more or less different opinions and interests, 3) expressed discontent with the present in contrast to the ideal ancient past, 4) discussed issues of statecraft, lord-vassal interactions, and various ethical and political topics often meant to caution and instruct a ruler. The level of formality may only be guessed, but the subject matter and anxiety evident in a number of short essays hint at the serious attitude of participants. Also, disciples of a teacher like Banzan were able to create a joint commentary submitted subsequently to a daimyo for personal use. Bakufu vassals had interest in studying a historical texts and expressing their own opinions about their content that often touched upon the current political or social situation. One may wonder what it meant for members of such a discussion circle to produce these comments: Did it affect their relationships with each other and with the daimyo? Was there an element of competition? Was there a judge, perhaps the daimyo, discarding or accepting certain comments? Was it a private effort, or was it meant for later publication? Finally, many comments may seem simplistic, naive, or idealistic to modern readers, but apparently were of interest to participants in the Edo period and had more significance than a mere pastime. As a work in progress, the *Teikanhyō* clarifies a likely process of creation that preceded the publication of the *Heike hyōban*.

7.5 Other *Hyōban* Works of the Edo Period

In this final section of the chapter, I explore a selection of Edo-period critical and didactic texts with *hyōban* or *hyō* as part of their titles, in order to demonstrate the range and type of works created, and also the persistence of this scholarly format throughout the Edo period.

Among early Edo works with the word *hyōban* in the title is the *Evaluative Commentary on the Seven Military Classics with Examples from Japan and China* (*Shichisho wakan hyōban* 七書和漢評判) written by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), one of the most prominent scholars of the seventeenth century in the service of the bakufu.⁵¹¹ Usually labelled in modern scholarship as a “Confucian” scholar, he was in fact well-versed in a variety of Chinese and Japanese texts ranging from ghost stories to military texts. Despite having *hyōban* in the title, the text does not follow the format and style of later *gunki hyōban*, and may be thought of as their prototype or an earlier variety. The work consists of a brief history of each text in China and Japan and the kanbun original text of the *Seven Military Classics*, followed by *chū* 註 or *hyō ni iwaku* 評に云く notes explaining Japanese meaning by giving a general paraphrase with additional explanations and quotes. Finally, sections with examples from Japanese *wa* 和 and Chinese *kan* 漢 political and military history illustrate the generalized idea or principle with specific applications in practice. For example, the point about a ruler or general capturing the hearts/minds of brave and wise people found in the *Three Strategies* (*Sanryaku*) is illustrated by the story of Yoritomo who thought to rise in just revolt to destroy the Heike, and called brave men of the Kantō region, listed by name, who gladly accepted. The same point is then illustrated with several Chinese stories about Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (256-195 BCE, r. 202-195 BCE), the

⁵¹¹ For more information see John S. Brownlee, “Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) and Hayashi Gahō (1618-80): Founders of Modern Historical Scholarship,” in John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600-1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 15-28.

first emperor of the Han dynasty, who attracted thirty-one excellent people, employed them well, and eventually obtained control of the empire. There are also stories about General Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 BCE), who had able officers but disagreed with their plans, resulting in discord and eventual failure. In contrast, there is the story of the later Han Emperor Guangwu 光武 (6 BCE-57 CE, r. 25-57 CE), who managed people well and became master of the empire. In general, Japanese illustrative examples range from the Genpei conflict to more recent figures of the sixteenth century like Takeda Shingen and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.⁵¹²

In this work, the focus is on the comprehension of military classics rather than their critical evaluation. However, establishing correspondences between quotes from Chinese military classics and historical names and events brings this work closer to later *hyōban* commentaries. In this work, the larger principles and concepts of continental military studies are illustrated by the specific deeds and decisions of Yoritomo or Toyotomi Hideyoshi, for example. In the *Heike hyōban*, the reverse operation is often seen: words and deeds of the *Heike* characters are linked to quotes and ideas found in authoritative classics, including the *Seven Military Classics*.

Evaluation commentary *hyō* 評 was a common critical mode used throughout the Edo period, and the ability to write a *hyō* commentary was indispensable for expressing one's own views on a text. Texts with historical content, including *gunki*, were the primary targets for critical commentaries of this kind. There are cases of a *hyōban* commentary on a single battle, the *Evaluative Commentary on the Kawanakajima Battle* (*Kawanakajima gassen hyōban* 川中島合戦評判, published in 1687), with discussion of the actions and mistakes of each side.

Voluminous commentaries on *gunki* include the *Evaluative Commentary on the Genpei and*

⁵¹² A digital version of the *Shichisho wakan hyōban* is available online: http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_B_200010446.

Taiheiki (*Genpei Taiheiki hyōban* 源平太平記評判, published in 1691) in twenty volumes, the *Evaluative Commentary on the Gikeiki* (*Gikeiki hyōban* 義経記評判, published in 1703) with “evaluation” (*hyō*) and “transmission” (*den*) comments, and the *Evaluative Commentary on the Tale of Soga* (*Soga monogatari hyōban* 曾我物語評判) by mid-Edo *gunki* writer Baba Nobunori 馬場信意 (1669-1728) and published in 1716 in fifteen volumes. Commentaries on texts indirectly related to history include works like the *Evaluative Commentary on the Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa hyōban* 徒然草評判, published in 1672) in two volumes. These commentaries were reprinted throughout the Edo period and they influenced how the original works were read and used.

Evaluation comments (*hyō*) can convey personal opinions and in this capacity may resemble essays in expressing the author’s views and didactic advice on social, ethical, and historical issues. A peculiar late-Edo commentary on the *Tale of Genji*, the *Poetic and Evaluative Commentary on Murasaki’s History* (*Shishi ginpyō* 紫史吟評), is made up of one *kanshi* poem for each chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, followed by an evaluative comment in kanbun, discussing the chapter’s content.⁵¹³ Written by Narushima Chikuzan 成島筑山 (1803-1854) of the Narushima family, who were hereditary Confucian tutors to the Tokugawa shoguns, the work circulated among scholars of Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学) as a manuscript before being published in 1879 in the early Meiji period.⁵¹⁴ Comments in the *Shishi ginpyō* are noticeably influenced by opinions expressed in the *zuihitsu* text *Flower and Moon Miscellanies* (*Kagetsu*

⁵¹³ A digital version of the commentary *Shishi ginpyō* is available online: Waseda University Library, http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko30/bunko30_a0326/index.html.

⁵¹⁴ Okabe Asuka, “*Shishi ginpyō no Genji monogatari juyō: kochūshaku*, Matsudaira Sadanobu no kaishaku to no kanren,” in *Heian bungaku no kochūshaku to juyō*, vol. 1, ed. Jinno Hidenori and Yokomizo Hiroshi (Musashino Shoin, 2008), 145.

sōshi 花月草紙, 1818), written by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), one of the most prominent daimyo in the bakufu. For example, Sadanobu understood the storm in the Suma and Akashi chapters as a sign of Heaven's anger at Genji's declaration of being without fault. Narushima Chikuzan developed this idea further in the *Shishi ginpyō*, criticizing the *Tale of Genji* for depicting Genji returning from exile, getting the favour of Heaven and the people, and succeeding in his political career. The comment expresses discontent with the unreasonable depiction as follows:

Ah, [Prince Genji] committed a transgression and was exiled, but was pardoned without [good] reason. As soon as he was pardoned, Heaven responded [showing sympathy] and people rejoiced. The storm calmed, as did the rain [so it is written]. Are there such inverted things in the world? It is difficult to discuss popular stories using common principles.⁵¹⁵

This kind of discussion, carried out from the Confucian viewpoint, centres on the political concepts of exile and pardon, and also on the ethico-religious issue of Heaven's response. In essence, the comment states that contrary to the depiction in the tale, Heaven would never accept an unfair pardon. A ruler, a shogun or daimyo, might get the idea from reading the *Tale of Genji* that a transgression may be ignored or even rewarded by Heaven and the people. The Confucian scholar Narushima and daimyo Matsudaira Sadanobu were apparently anxious to caution their readers that transgressions do not lead to approval and political success. Interestingly, this evaluative commentary treats the *Tale of Genji* not as a work of literary fiction, but as a historical work written by Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (ca. 973-ca. 1014 CE), the *Murasaki's History* (*Shishi* 紫史). This detail indicates that evaluative comments (*hyō*) were mostly associated with historical texts.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 158. 濤標 (評) [...] 嗚呼有罪而謫。無故而免。免則天忤人悅。風和雨若。天地間豈有此等錯戾事哉。稗官野乘、難以常理論。

Thus, the writing of evaluation commentaries continued in the late Edo period and remained an indispensable tool of criticism and scholarship. It was not exclusively used by Confucian scholars and, for example, Nativist scholar Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791-1858), an educator at the Tosa domain school known for extensive *Man'yōshū* studies, chose this critical format to discuss the *Nihon gaishi* by Rai San'yō. His *Evaluative Commentary on the Nihon gaishi* (*Nihon gaishi hyō* 日本外史評) was published in Tosa in 1864.⁵¹⁶

Of course, evaluative *hyōban* or *hyō* commentaries of the Edo period vary considerably, depending on the text discussed, the views of the author, and the time period. They form a vast set of commentaries that has not been studied in detail by researchers. The *Heike hyōban* is not an aberration, but forms part of an extensive, diverse group of texts that were related to, or grew out of, Edo-period reading and discussion circles, lectures, and group commentarial projects. These works span such contrasting categories as individual vs. group authorship, private reading vs. public lecture, scholarship vs. entertainment, and didactic/moralistic vs. subversive/critical. Each comment or opinion expresses someone's personal views, but the resulting commentary is often a product of the people who discussed the work or issue as a group. The contexts of a lecture by a private tutor or a discussion circle composed of like-minded people—such as the disciples of a single teacher or the students of a *hankō* domain school—are more public than silent individual reading, but more private than public lectures or sermons. A text based on a group discussion or private study may remain in manuscript form, or may be published for private or wide circulation. Creating comments was likely understood as a serious scholarly process requiring erudition and fair judgment, and at the same time there certainly was an element of entertainment, pastime, and leisure. Discussion of morality and wise behaviour in

⁵¹⁶ A digital version of the *Nihon gaishi hyō* is available online: Waseda University Library, http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ri05/ri05_00718/index.html.

these commentaries was intended for rulers and officials, and yet sharp criticism of past rulers outweighed words of praise. All of these qualities of *hyōban* commentaries make them a window to Edo-period reception of historical and literary classics, and a genre of scholarly literature that requires detailed investigation.

Some resemblance to *hyōban* commentaries can be seen in modern political shows, which are group discussions that sometimes mention and assess history relevant to current events, with the purpose of drawing didactic parallels. Among recent educational programs on Japanese television, the program *Deep Power of Predecessors: A Fountain of Wisdom* (*Senjintachi no sokojikara chieizu* 先人たちの底力 知恵泉), broadcast by NHK since 2013, offers some similarities. It parallels issues faced by people in the present with challenges encountered by historical figures of the past. The program explains in detail how the problem was solved in the past, usually through an ingenious and wise approach. An invited guest then speaks from his own experience about the application of a similar idea in business, sports, education, or some other domain. For example, the leadership techniques used by a daimyo in his cannon-making project, or the approaches taken by the writer Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) in his interaction with disciples, or the management strategies used by creators of the Meiji-era postal service are compared to decision-making in modern business settings, or to techniques used by the coach of a volleyball team.⁵¹⁷

In this chapter, I have examined a large selection of medieval and early modern didactic and critical works to show that the *Heike hyōban* was not an isolated and unique work, but a part of a long tradition of discussion and criticism on history, statecraft, and ethics. The *Heike hyōban* is significant not because of its new mode of criticizing and teaching, but because it brings the

⁵¹⁷ More details can be found on the program's website: <http://www4.nhk.or.jp/chieizu/>.

Heike into the scholarly discourse of political and ethical discussion. This discourse was shaped and maintained by Buddhist, Confucian, and other thinkers, but it was the scholars of military studies who applied it in the early Edo period to the *Heike* and other works. Thus, the *Heike* not only became a text for scholarly discussion about statecraft, but also came to be seen as a text for warrior rulers and warrior-officials. In Chapter 8, I suggest that the mode of discussion and criticism that involves history, statecraft, and ethics is a universal phenomenon. I claim that for its time, the *Heike hyōban* was a typical commentarial and didactic work for rulers in the worldwide context. Discussing premodern European and Near Eastern treatises and commentaries known as “mirrors for princes,” I argue that the *Heike hyōban* and *gunsho* texts in general can be considered Japanese “mirrors for princes.”

Chapter 8 The *Heike hyōban* and Other *Gunsho* as Japan's "Mirrors for Princes"

The *Heike hyōban* and other similar *gunsho* of the Edo period are not commentaries intended for the explanation of lexical items. In other words, they are not philological, explanatory commentaries. In the most general sense, the act of commenting is essentially reacting to a text by creating a new text. In the case of commentaries like the *Heike hyōban*, the new text is quite loosely tied to the commented text, the *Heike*, and may be said to be inspired by its content, with the discussion often extending into new fields such as military studies, statecraft, and ethics. Non-canonical texts can be defined as self-explanatory texts that do not require a separate commentary. The creation of a didactic treatise or a political commentary on the *Heike*—a text lacking the authority of the official historical canon in the medieval period—means that in the seventeenth century, its content was no longer self-evident or fully acceptable for certain groups of readers. The difference in worldview of its medieval authors (court nobles and Buddhist monks) and early-Edo commentators (mostly scholars of the military studies) necessitated—from the commentator's point of view—the creation of a commentary that would fill the gaps and ensure that Edo-period readers, especially warrior-officials, would not misunderstand its content, deriving harmful lessons. Creation of the commentary contributed to the canonization of the *Heike* as a historical text and, in addition, gave it a new status and reputation as a *gunsho* text for the edification of warrior-officials.

In this chapter, I draw parallels between the features, commentarial approaches, and content of the *Heike hyōban* and European didactic commentaries, primarily those belonging to the genre of "mirrors for princes," also known by its Latin term, *speculum principis*, or German, *Fürstenspiegel*. Political and ethical didactic treatises and commentaries addressed to statesmen

and rulers are almost a universal premodern genre, and a comparative analysis by no means suggests, nor posits or discovers a direct influence between the texts. One purpose of the following discussion is to situate the *Heike hyōban* and similar Japanese texts, understudied until recently, within a category of analogous texts from different cultures that have been extensively examined by scholars. This comparison may be useful for later studies of Japanese commentaries, suggesting possible topics and directions for investigation. Another purpose is to show that the *Heike hyōban*, which may at first sight appear an eccentric and outlandish exception, is a common type of work for its time, having more similarities than differences with political didactic commentaries written outside of Japan.

8.1 Didactic Allegorisation: Grafting Didactic Content onto a Text

Often a known text from the past may be appropriated by means of a commentary, and thus made to express new didactic content of the commentator's choice. In such cases, the commentary remains anchored to the commented text, but there is no limit to the creativity of the didactic content. New content taught by the commentary and grafted onto the original text is given priority, and it eclipses the original text that ends up displaced into a supporting secondary position.⁵¹⁸ In this section, I provide an overview of several examples from the European commentarial tradition that illustrate how didactic allegorisation works.

⁵¹⁸ It seems that, for example, in the case of commentaries on the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, late tenth century CE), the didactic goal is more important than the original text itself. Thus, the so-called Old Commentaries (*kochūshaku* 古注釈) of the Kamakura period are not focused on the *Tales of Ise* and only use it as a convenient known basis to teach about esoteric Buddhism, which is the real interest of the commentators and their intended audience. The Transitional Commentaries (*kyūchūshaku* 旧注釈) of the late medieval period likewise primarily aim at teaching poetry composition, and treat the *Tales of Ise* as a useful starting point for developing their own content. See Susan Blakeley Klein, *Allegories of Desire: Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan* (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press, 2002); Joshua S. Mostow, *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014); Jamie L. Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man: A History of Scholarship on Tales of Ise* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).

In classical antiquity, epics created by the legendary ancient Greek poet Homer (ca. eighth century BCE) were understood to have a didactic component, and Homer himself was known as the educator of all Greeks and an authority in all branches of knowledge, including military matters and morality. Ancient commentaries on Homer, the *Scholia* (ranging from the fifth century BCE to the eighth century CE), contain

[...] many comments on Homer's military expertise. [...] Further, Homer teaches the right behaviour and correct reactions on a whole array of different occasions and issues, e.g. to contain one's anger, exercise moderation, [...] He also teaches the right attitude towards the gods. Some of his prescriptions are specifically intended for leaders and statesmen. ... But apart from the many instances of general moral rules taught by Homer, he also imparts lessons on a variety of other topics, like seafaring, meteorology, agriculture, medicine and fishing.⁵¹⁹

Thus, later commentaries used Homer's epics for a wide range of didactic purposes, including statecraft, strategy, and ethics. This trend continued and influenced later commentaries, since in the medieval period, too, "both secular and sacred allegorisation had roots in ancient interpretation of Homer."⁵²⁰

The search for additional meanings and uses of a text beyond the literal sense, by means of allegorisation, was a common approach to texts in the medieval period. This kind of interpretation typically stresses examples for imitation and hidden meanings intended to affect readers' morals and beliefs. The primary example is medieval biblical exegesis, known as "quadruple interpretation," or the fourfold method, described as follows:

Among the Fathers of the Church there arises a principle that will command biblical exegesis throughout the Middle Ages: the Scriptures have several simultaneous meanings. Each episode or statement is normally endowed with four stratified senses: the literal or

⁵¹⁹ Ineke Sluiter, "Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition," in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1999), 176-177.

⁵²⁰ Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 2: The Middle Ages*, eds. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6.

historical meaning, its connection with the teaching of Christ, its moral value and finally its spiritual or eschatological dimension.⁵²¹

A similar approach was adopted in the medieval period for the study of classical pagan literature and ancient mythology, which were Christianized and moralized by means of allegorical interpretations that filled them with Christian revelations, moral examples, and knowledge useful and relevant for the new historical context. For example, the Latin narrative poem *Metamorphoses* (early first century CE), by the Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE-17 or 18 CE), was recompiled with inserted comments on the moral and allegorical significance of each part, with the purpose of making ancient mythology compatible with Christianity. The result was *L'Ovide moralisé*, a long poem in about seventy thousand verses, composed between 1291 and 1328 by an anonymous Franciscan monk, with different versions in Latin or French dating from the early fourteenth century till around 1530. Ovid is ahistorically Christianized, and its original content is interpreted in accordance with Christian allegory, which is given more weight than the original literal sense.⁵²² For example, the mythological character Phaëton stands for Lucifer and his revolt against God, Diana becomes a figure of the Trinity, and a ship perishing in a storm is an allegory for a body spiritually drowning in sins.⁵²³ In other words, Ovid's myths are transformed into Christian sermons.

Among such commentaries that substantially transform the original, sometimes described as transmuted commentaries, is found the *Twelve Labours of Hercules* (*Los doce trabajos de*

⁵²¹ Michel Jeanneret, "Renaissance exegesis," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 3: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36.

⁵²² Ralph Hanna, Tony Hunt, R.G. Keightley, Alastair Minnis and Nigel F. Palmer, "Latin commentary tradition and vernacular literature," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 2: The Middle Ages*, eds. Alastair Minnis and Ian Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 378-379.

⁵²³ See an excerpt from *L'Ovide moralisé*, Book 11, especially lines 4045-4117 with a strong cautionary message against worldly goods and delights, translated by Murray McGillivray:
<http://classes.uleth.ca/200803/engl1900e/duchess/html/sources/ovmotr.htm>.

Hércules, 1417), the work of the Spanish commentator Enrique de Villena (c. 1384-1434).

Descriptions of each labour drawn from classical sources

[...] form the ‘bare histories’ (*historias nudas*), for each of which Villena supplies a *declaración* or moralisation, a *verdad* or euhemeristic explanation, and an *aplicación*. This last is, in most instances, his own original contribution, suggesting the social and/or moral lesson to be drawn from a particular labour for one of the twelve sectors into which Villena divides human society.⁵²⁴

The last type, *aplicación*, is characterized by open-endedness, consists of didactic essays with practical ethical advice for contemporary society, and in my opinion, closely resembles the approach taken in the *Heike hyōban* and similar texts.⁵²⁵

Taking the third labour about Hercules and harpies as an example, let us consider in greater detail the content of each type of commentary. The story is linked to the estate of knight (*estado de cavallero*) among the twelve social groups. After narrating the myth itself as it is told in ancient sources (*hystoria nuda*), the commentator’s *declaración*, or moral interpretation, discusses among other things that a virtuous man has to be a master of passions. The *verdad*, or historical and logical interpretation, talks about the “real story” in the human world, in which Hercules admonishes the Greek King Phineus discussing avarice. The move from myths and allegories to human society is further developed in the *aplicación*, or discussion of ideal behaviour for a particular social group. Its content is mainly addressed to knights, who are cautioned against coveting and avarice, the root of all evil, due to which many kings and sirs endanger their states and mistreat their subjects and vassals. In such cases, a knight should give advice to a ruler so that he acts justly and treats subjects well. It is stated that fear of admonishing, and the acceptance and hiding of vices is contrary to the state of a knight. Then,

⁵²⁴ Ralph Hanna et al., “Latin commentary tradition and vernacular literature,” 379.

⁵²⁵ A digital version of the 1483 edition of the *Twelve Labours of Hercules* (*Los doce trabajos de Hércules*) is available online: the National Library of Spain, <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000179799>.

the comment mentions a knight's duties, such as putting one's life in danger, using arms to defend the Catholic faith, ruler, land, law, and justice. As can be seen from these topics, the mix of socio-political and ethical content dominates the *aplicação*, and this likely reveals the principal purpose of the commentary: to caution against vices and to explain the proper duties and behaviour of different social groups using ancient myths as a basic starting point of discussion.

It does not necessarily have to be a literary text onto which an allegorical didactic reading is grafted. A curious example is a moralized explanation of chess, the *Book on the Customs of Men and Duties of Nobles and Commoners Through the Game of Chess* (*Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scachorum*), or simply, the *Game of Chess* (*Ludus scachorum*) by Jacobus Cessoles (Jacques de Cessoles, 1275-1322), a Dominican preacher in Italy. In the game of chess, a popular diversion of clergy and laity, he saw an allegory of medieval society with pieces corresponding to different social classes. His use of chess to teach about duties and proper behaviour was received with favour, and he wrote down the content of his sermons. The text gained popularity across Europe with hundreds of manuscripts and printed editions produced in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. An English translation of this work from French, printed in 1474 by William Caxton (ca. 1422-ca. 1491), was one of the first books printed in the English language.⁵²⁶ Using a popular, widely known game to create a sermon or a didactic commentary on social and ethical norms is not significantly different from achieving the same purpose using ancient myths or literary texts.

As can be seen from the above examples, the technique of didactic allegorisation was well-developed in the medieval period in Europe, and applied to a variety of ancient texts.

⁵²⁶ Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474: A verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E.A. Axon (London: Elliot Stock, 1883).

Medieval commentators sought to reinterpret ancient myths in Christian terms, or to use them to teach about the duties and norms of medieval society. A similar technique is seen in the case of Japanese *Heike hyōban* commentary that grafts secular, didactic, and military studies content onto the courtly, Buddhist, and medieval *Heike*.

8.2 Political Debates and Allegorical Interpretation

The commentaries discussed above reinterpret earlier ancient texts to make them relevant and close to the Christian medieval context, and the allegorical approach makes it possible to read ethical and social content into commented texts. It is important to understand that premodern moralization and social commentary were closely related to “politics,” since

[...] prior to the seventeenth century, politics was not a distinctive discipline with its own subject matter and methodology; it had not yet disengaged itself either from the dominance of practical moral philosophy/theology as studied in medieval universities, or from rhetorical and ethical discourse as studied in humanist schools.⁵²⁷

European political thought before the seventeenth century is not narrowly limited to a specific genre or textual category. It is spread across diverse texts, discussing organization of human communities and the appropriate behaviour of both the ruler and the ruled within communities. To discuss statecraft, kingship, laws, morality, virtues, and social relations, educated people relied on concepts, methods of argument, and judgment criteria, formulated in the large corpus of authoritative Latin texts and the Scripture. This knowledge was studied and used to discuss and suggest answers to practical contemporary questions of ethical and political nature. Far from being depoliticized, medieval universities provided training in political thought and served as spaces for critical debates. Contrary to a common representation of medieval

⁵²⁷ Janet Coleman, “The Science of Politics and Late Medieval Academic Debate,” in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 181.

scholasticism as uniform and fixed, such debates were characterized by questioning, conflict, and a diversity of positions. The historian of political thought Janet Coleman writes that

[...] ethical and political theories and practices were, in a fundamental and broader sense than we are used to, precisely what the medieval university was instituted to debate. ... The university's vocational course of study was meant to prepare its students for future careers in church or "state." There is ample evidence that the great impetus to scholastic development in the twelfth century, and the emergence of universities in the thirteenth century in which scholasticism flourished, came from a practical need for clear, authoritative solutions to practical questions about collective "governance" relating to things both personal and public.... Medieval universities like Paris, Oxford, and Bologna, owed their success to their development of *methods* to answer what we would call moral and political questions. They were set up as "think tanks" which serviced church and "state." ... That the questions and answers to them kept changing as the agenda in church and "state" changed meant that the universities needed to teach rules of analysis and debate, that is, a *procedure* by which problems could be brought to light and solved. They learned these procedural rules from the ancients and then developed them to serve their own agendas.⁵²⁸

Separation of politics from practical philosophical/theological morality was a long process tied to the debate

[...] between lawyers, on the one hand, and arts faculty philosophers and theologians, on the other, over who best understood the nature of politics and was, therefore, best able to teach it so that university students could thereafter take up offices in "state" (*respublica*, *regnum*, *civitas*) or church.⁵²⁹

Philosophers and theologians dealing with politics as practical moral philosophy argued that the appropriate place for its study was the university's arts course, which "taught one to read and analyze the texts of the ancient moralists and the Church Fathers, and from these texts one learned how to rule oneself, one's family, and the city/"state."⁵³⁰ The struggle of philosophers

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 183, 187-188.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 184-185.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 192. Practical moral philosophy is concerned with ruling oneself, one's family, and the state. This definition, for example, is given in the *Mirror of Doctrine* (*Speculum Doctrinale*, 1244-1259) by the Dominican friar

and theologians against lawyers lasted from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, with the lawyers and their focus on the codes of Roman law gradually gaining more influence on legislators and sovereigns across Europe. An expression of this rivalry is found in the *Book on the Politics of Aristotle* (*Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristote*, 1371-1374), the French translation and commentary on Aristotle's (384-322 BCE) *Politics* by Nicole Oresme (1320-1382), a work undertaken at the request of King Charles V of France (1338-80, r. 1364-80), and dedicated to him. Oresme, a Catholic bishop and philosopher, observed that

[...] the lawyers who circled round Charles V were bad counselors. They were capable of having a vast influence on public policy through flattery. He said that lawyers treated Roman law as dogma rather than interpreting law in relation to the common good. Not having studied philosophy, lawyers were incapable of understanding the principles behind the law; “ceulz qui apprennent premierement les lays ne pevent apres aprendre philosophie” [“those who first study the laws are incapable then of studying philosophy”]. Lawyers were the ones who led states into tyrannies by attributing to princes a *plenitudo potestatis* (*plenitude de poste*) [fullness of power]. According to Oresme, they favored absolutism: he believed that the fourteenth-century Italian civil jurists Baldus and Bartolus had turned the *princeps* [ruler] into a *Deus in terris* [God on earth]. To their presumed absolutism, Oresme opposed the Aristotelian “poste modérée” or temperate monarchy.⁵³¹

It seems possible to link the decreasing role of philosophers and theologians as counsellors of rulers with a parallel trend of allegorical hermeneutics becoming outmoded and

Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190-1264): “homo regit seipsum, vel propriam familiam, vel civitatem totam” (Part I, section 18). The *Mirror of Doctrine* is a part of his *Great Mirror* (*Speculum Majus*), the main encyclopedia used in the medieval period. Vincent of Beauvais also wrote several treatises about the education of nobles and princes. The importance of ruling oneself, one's family, and the state is also one of the recurring themes in the *Heike hyōban* and many other didactic works. In the East Asian context, the idea likely originates from the Confucian classic the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大学):

The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. (Section 2, translated by James Legge)

古之欲明明德於天下者，先治其國；欲治其國者，先齊其家；欲齊其家者，先修其身；欲修其身者，先正其心；欲正其心者，先誠其意；欲誠其意者，先致其知，致知在格物。

⁵³¹ Ibid., 205-206.

the philological one rising to dominance. As explained by the literary scholar Michel Jeanneret, during the Renaissance (fourteenth-seventeenth century) both methods were in use: the allegorical one, which—considering old texts as still relevant and alive—stresses examples for imitation or hidden meanings affecting morals and beliefs; and the philological one, which is more historically minded and attempts to understand a work according to its cultural context.⁵³² Philologists aim at reconstructing and editing the correct original text, studying the manuscript tradition; analyzing words, grammar, style and prosody; and elucidating historical and other allusions as well as the sources of a passage. Philologists pay attention to chronology, track down anachronisms, and understand a work as the product of a specific milieu and time. As for the difference in commentarial approach, “[t]o explain, for [philologists], is to make sure the literal sense and the author’s intention are understood; whereas allegorists favour polysemy, philologists work at dispelling ambiguities in order to secure one single and clear meaning.”⁵³³ Both approaches were considered scholarly before the seventeenth century, and the eventual dismantling of allegorical interpretation resulted in the dominance of philology, which also accounts for the preference modern scholarship has given to philological commentaries seen as proper scholarship.

These trends in the European context may be useful in the analysis of Japanese commentaries like the *Heike hyōban*. If we ignore the specific content and observe only the methods, approaches, and aims, then the *Heike hyōban* fits well with the political texts and debates of medieval scholars of philosophy and theology, and stands close to the works by allegorists with their moralizations and interest in didactic interpretation, rather than the literal sense favoured by philologists. Moreover, the decline in allegorical, didactic interpretation and

⁵³² Michel Jeanneret, “Renaissance exegesis,” 36.

⁵³³ Ibid., 38.

the growing interest in philological investigation may also be noticed in the Japanese context since the late seventeenth century. “Allegorical” didactic works like the *Heike hyōban* came to be criticized in, for example, the “philological” *Heike karui*, which definitely gives more attention to the historical context and investigation of sources, probably under the influence of large-scale historical projects such as the *Dai Nihonshi* compilation in the Mito domain.

8.3 Mirrors for Princes

After examining the content and format of the *Heike hyōban*, I came to the conclusion that it and other similar commentaries are Japanese equivalents of the political advice books known as “mirrors for princes.” The political historian Cary Nederman describes the vast corpus of these texts in medieval and Renaissance Europe as follows:

Commonly cobbled together out of raw materials provided by the pagan classics, scripture, and the Church Fathers, the *speculum principum* seems to have made its initial appearance during the Carolingian epoch [ninth century CE], and became a fixture of political discourse after the middle of the twelfth century. Scholars tend to regard medieval political “mirrors” as highly conventional works containing moralistic advice to rulers about the appropriate duties and virtues of the royal office, as well as about the education of the prince and his offspring.⁵³⁴

The classic study of writings on statecraft and advice to rulers, *The Education of a Christian Prince* by Desiderius Erasmus, published in 1936 by the historian of political theory Lester K. Born (1903-1969), gives a detailed overview of texts belonging to this category, from Greco-Roman treatises to works of the sixteenth century. Lester Born notes that “originality is not one of the prime essentials of a good treatise on the education of a prince.”⁵³⁵ The texts of this kind

⁵³⁴ Cary J. Nederman, “The Mirror Crack'd: The *Speculum Principum* as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages,” *The European Legacy* 3, no. 3 (1998): 18.

⁵³⁵ Lester K. Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince* by Desiderius Erasmus (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936/1964), 45.

share many properties and all focus on highly ethical content, seeking to give a picture of an ideal model ruler.⁵³⁶ In the medieval period, scholars relied on classical scholarship, such as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Seneca, mixing them with Christian teachings, and “[t]his combination of Greek thought and Roman vigor, joined with medieval theology, resulted in a mixture of idealism and practicability.”⁵³⁷ Summarizing the mirrors for princes of the entire medieval period from the sixth to the sixteenth century, Lester Born notes that the methods and topics are nearly all the same, the writers stress the personal moral virtues of the prince and show interest in the pattern of the ideal prince, who in these ten centuries must be

[...] wise, self-restrained, just; devoted to the welfare of his people; a pattern in virtues for his subjects; immune from flattery; interested in economic developments, an educational program, and the true religion of God; surrounded by efficient ministers and able advisers; opposed to aggressive warfare; and, in the realization that even he is subject to law and that the need of the prince and his subjects is mutual, zealous for the attainment of peace and unity.⁵³⁸

As for military matters, the overall view is pacifist, but the prince is expected to be learned not only in letters, but also in law and military science. The expectation is that the ruler has to be both a good general and a good peacetime ruler and lawgiver. Advice on military science seen in the treatises is often based on the text *On Military Matters (De re militari)*, of the military historian and theoretician Vegetius (late fourth and early fifth century CE). This early-fifth-

⁵³⁶ Already in the first known work of this kind written by Isocrates (436-338 BCE) to a king of Cyprus, the author wrote that such treatises should not be paradoxical or novel, and should focus on already known concepts and on the skillful collection of common ideas. Ibid., 43.

⁵³⁷ Lester K. Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince by Desiderius Erasmus*, 126.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 127.

century text remained very influential throughout the medieval period from the ninth to the sixteenth century, and even as late as the eighteenth century.⁵³⁹

An example of an influential “mirror for princes” is the *Education of a Christian Prince* (*Institutio principis Christiani*), written around 1516 by Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536 CE) for Prince Charles, the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558 CE). Erasmus was a Dutch Renaissance humanist, Catholic priest, social critic, classical scholar, and one of the recognized intellectual leaders of Europe. He was invited to the court of Prince Charles as a councillor. Following the “mirror” tradition, this treatise relies on classical authors with some addition of medieval sources, but also presents a program of reform with many references to contemporary events and needs. Although intended for the sixteen-year-old Prince Charles, the treatise was not kept private and was soon published in 1516, with many editions circulating in England, France, and other countries. Erasmus himself sent a copy in 1517 to Henry VIII of England (1491-1547 CE, r. 1509-1547), who was one of his powerful patrons. The text was used for the education of various princes, such as Prince Philip (1503-1548 CE), who was prescribed in 1517 by his uncle count Frederick II of Bavaria (1482-1556 CE) to read the *Institutio* or a similar work for three hours every day.⁵⁴⁰ The last edition of the work appeared as late as 1641, and was subsequently neglected.

It should be recalled that the “mirrors” were not constitutions or legal contracts, but admonitory treatises with suggestions about reform given by intellectuals and literati. Erasmus

⁵³⁹ The Arab historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 CE), in his book the *Muqaddimah* (1377), which can also be considered a “mirror for prince” with advice on governance, stated that both “the sword” (the military) and “the pen” (administration, taxes, and law) are instruments for the ruler to use in his affairs. He noted, however, that at the beginning and end of a dynasty, the importance of “the sword” is greater; whereas in the middle, “the pen” is needed more and has more authority. The Japanese equivalent, the concept of *bunbu*—the balance of the civil and the martial—is one of the major themes in Edo-period thought, and it is often discussed in *gunsho* texts and in the *Heike hyōban*, too.

⁵⁴⁰ Lester K. Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince by Desiderius Erasmus*, 28.

did not make novel contributions in political thinking, and “offered no original solutions to current problems save to recall the Golden Age of Greece and Rome.”⁵⁴¹ However, having extensive practical association with princes, nobles, and scholars, Erasmus was not a naive idealist and he was aware of Charles’ faults, and the discrepancies between suggested actions and his deeds. Even though the life of Emperor Charles V was an antithesis of all his teachings, Erasmus kept the same principles later, as can be seen from his later writings. Charles V apparently disagreed with Erasmus on many issues, and the works of Erasmus were eventually not included in the lists of recommended readings prepared by Charles for his sons.⁵⁴² The influence of “mirrors for princes” should not be exaggerated, and they were not a restraint on actions and decisions, remaining as suggestions of one of the advisors that could be ignored.

Although seen as conventional by modern scholars, the “mirrors” were not merely a formality or an empty ceremonial. They successfully retained appeal for many centuries, and one reason for their longevity was their “adaptability as a tool for criticizing the faults of particular rulers.”⁵⁴³ In his article, Cary Nederman examines several texts from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries which not only reaffirm values and define proper duties, but contain explicit criticism of specific political or social practices of their time. They also deplore various policies and offer practical advice, but in some cases they resort to direct accusation and even thinly veiled threats about the risk of a popular uprising caused by a ruler’s unjust measures. “Mirror” texts by Christine de Pizan (1364-1430 CE), an Italian-French court writer and author of nine treatises for princes and princesses, are not at all radical, but they deal with a wider scope of issues than

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 22.

⁵⁴³ Cary J. Nederman, “The Mirror Crack’d: The *Speculum Principum* as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages,” 19.

conventional mirrors, and give attention to counsel to women of various stations; the problems of townsmen, peasants, and the poor; and economic issues that affect the harmony and unity of a state. She expresses deep admiration for the ruling dynasty, upon whose patronage she depended, and addresses a royal audience, but does not hesitate to deplore mores and practices current in her time and to give practical advice. In her works, she discusses the importance of public image, reputation, popular support, and a ruler's familiarity with the daily conditions of the governed. She maintains the need for moral and religious principles, and expects that the king honours God and takes care of churches, but also demonstrates secularist pragmatic thinking—still rarely found in the late medieval period—such as the idea of the king regulating all the estates, including the clergy.⁵⁴⁴

It is my claim that Japanese commentaries, such as the *Heike hyōban*, belong to the same category as other “mirrors for princes,” didactic works on statecraft and ethics intended both as advice books and tools for overt criticism of current policies and practices. They have the same purpose and audience, and discuss a similar range of topics. Of course, the similarity between “mirrors” is not due to direct influence of any kind, and it merely confirms the universal nature of such premodern works rooted in the most basic relation between a ruler (typically a monarch), a counsellor, and the governed people. The view of “mirrors” as a literary genre has been questioned by the literary scholar Einar Már Jónsson, who suggests that they do not constitute a genre, but fall into a category of texts that mix and oscillate between general moral works, historical writings, and political treatises. Moreover, moral, historical, and political themes of various kinds combine around the thematic core of the “ideal prince.” The similarity between works written independently from each other in different times and places is explained by the

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 29-34.

shared perception of kingship and analogous situations in which writers and rulers interact.⁵⁴⁵

The basic participants, the ruler, the advisor, and the society or state, remain constant in all cases and create a grid or a template that gets filled with ideal qualities, proper duties, and historical examples. Any combination of ethics, history, and politics addressed to a ruler as advice or admonition may be read and used as a “mirror for prince,” and this may explain the ubiquitous nature of such texts in different times and states. In this connection, it is notable that for some European thinkers such as Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405 CE)—a French knight, writer, and royal counsellor—the best “mirrors for princes” were the Book of Judges, Books of Kings, and Books of Maccabees in the Bible.⁵⁴⁶

The “mirrors for princes” are by no means limited to the European context, since many similar texts are found in the Near East, India, and East Asia. Confucian classics and histories, commentaries on them, and military classics, too, were intended as ethical and pragmatic didactic materials for rulers and officials, and functioned as “mirrors for princes” in East Asia. In the Near East, writing books of advice and admonition for rulers was common throughout the medieval period. For example, the author of the tenth-century work, the *Advice for Kings* (*Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*), was “deeply concerned, indeed alarmed, by the developments of his age and felt it his responsibility, as a scholar and man of letters, to attempt to instruct and guide those individuals who possessed the power and authority to change the direction of events before it

⁵⁴⁵ Einar Már Jónsson, “Les “miroirs aux princes” sont-ils un genre littéraire?” *Médiévales* 51 (Fall 2006): 9.

⁵⁴⁶ Gisela Naegle, “*Resveillier ceulx qui dorment en pechié*: Philippe de Mézières et la tradition des miroirs du prince,” *Le Moyen Age* 116 (2010/3): 642.

was too late.”⁵⁴⁷ The themes pervading the text are quite similar to those typically found in other mirrors, such as medieval European ones:

[...] the requirement of personal virtue, based on self-control, on the part of the monarch; the king's need of sound instruction, especially in religious matters; the general necessity of virtuous leadership, since the people follow their rulers and if they are misled, the kingdom will be brought to ruin; the dangers of religious movements that, in the author's view, threaten the stability of the core of the religion and seek to destroy the state; and a distrust of courtiers and others who seek out proximity to the king.⁵⁴⁸

Just as Greco-Roman texts and examples were used together with Christian texts in medieval European mirrors, and were made compatible with Christian teachings, in medieval Persian mirrors one finds pre-Islamic Iranian history and model of rulership intertwined and blended with later Islamic heritage with rulers and practices of both traditions considered authoritative models. The assimilation and Islamisation of the ancient Iranian tradition of kingship was perceived as harmonious, despite its anachronistic nature. As noted by the historian Deborah G. Tor,

[i]n the eyes of mediaeval Muslims, there was ... nothing jarring or conflicting about the Islamic and the ancient Iranian traditions of rulership; they saw them not even as two complementary co-existing traditions, but, rather, as one double-stranded, internally consistent, and intertwined heritage.⁵⁴⁹

In the Japanese case of the *Heike hyōban*, for example, ancient Chinese sage rulers and thinkers are made compatible with the Japanese context, and become authoritative models, together with Japanese sage figures such as Emperor Jinmu or Prince Shōtoku. In general, the *Heike hyōban*

⁵⁴⁷ Louise Marlow, “A Samanid Work of Counsel and Commentary: the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* of pseudo-Māwardī,” *Iran* 45 (2007): 182. Also see Louise Marlow, *Counsel for Kings: Wisdom and Politics in Tenth-Century Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 187.

⁵⁴⁹ Deborah G. Tor, “The Islamisation of Iranian Kingly Ideals in the Persianate Fürstenspiegel,” *Iran* 49 (2011): 121.

commentary's authors draw on concepts from Confucianism, Shinto, Buddhism, and military studies, seeing them all as sources of wisdom useful in state matters.

Another relevant example of Near Eastern political advice literature, Ottoman Turkish “mirrors for princes,” are close to the *Heike hyōban* both in time period—fifteenth to seventeenth century—and in the themes and concerns of their authors. The historian Pál Fodor describes their functions as follows:

Any definition of the function of the Ottoman mirrors for princes has to start with emphasizing their role of counselling the political administration. This was the express intention of nearly all the writers, which was later coupled with a wish to promote internal reforms. Most writers were firmly convinced that their advice would be of considerable assistance to the ruler and through him to society.⁵⁵⁰

Written by officials, scholars, warriors, and even top politicians like former grand viziers, some authors preferring to remain anonymous, the works advised moderation, chastised abuses such as bribery and sale of posts, and demanded reforms in administration. They called for attention to appointments; the examination of candidates; the restriction of the extravagance of officials; financial matters; the disruption of order; and the neglect of duties, injustice, and other issues.⁵⁵¹ Idealization of earlier times, bold criticism of contemporary woes, and outspoken expression of pessimism are all part of the typical features of most “mirrors.” Admonition and proposed policies are addressed to the top rulers, on whose righteousness the welfare of the state depends,

⁵⁵⁰ Pál Fodor, “State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in the 15th–17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40, no. 2–3 (1986): 235.

⁵⁵¹ Examples discussed by Pál Fodor do not include a “mirror for prince” grafted onto an earlier historical or literary text. However, he describes one ingenious work, the *Dreambook* (*Habname*, 1608 CE) by Veysi Efendi (1561–1628 CE), written as a dream narrative involving the current sultan, Ahmed I (1590–1617 CE, r. 1603–1617), and the ancient Greek King and General, Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). As explained by Fodor, this format is used by the author as

...a handy device to convey his thoughts, which he dresses up in a dreamt dialogue between Alexander the Great and Sultan Ahmed I. In the dream, Sultan Ahmed relates the afflictions of the Ottomans, while Alexander the Great personifies supreme statecraft and the philosophical experience of human history. ...[the author's] main ambition, apart from uncovering the causes of the crisis, was to provide the ruler with comfort and faith to endure the situation and to act.

Ibid., 227.

just as the health of the body depends on the heart.⁵⁵² Rulers are not addressed as innately right and perfect, and writers remind the top of their responsibility for the existing and potential disorder by quoting the proverb, “It is the head that makes the fish stink,” or by direct accusations such as, “The confusion in the whole world [...] comes from the Padishah appointing the wrong grand vizier,” followed by advice to find a suitable vizier and consult with competent people.⁵⁵³

It is a curious fact that around the same time on the other side of Asia, Japanese authors of *gunsho* texts, including the *Heike hyōban* commentary, examined the rise and fall of states, admonished rulers, and expressed their concerns and anxiety in surprisingly similar terms and using a similar critical mode. Given the independence of the European, Near Eastern, and Japanese works discussed above, their likeness can be explained by the monarchical system of rule focused on the person on top; social stratification; and the more or less universal human weaknesses, such as greed or negligence, which are scorned and criticized by learned people. The above comparison is made primarily to identify a category of texts to which belong Japanese *gunsho* commentaries of the early Edo period, and to show that the approach taken in Japan, and even the content mixing idealistic and pragmatic concepts, are by no means unusual or rare in other cultures in the same or earlier time periods.

8.4 Machiavelli and the Jesuits

A key theme in the *Heike hyōban*, and in numerous “mirrors for princes” in different cultures, is the contrast between the ideal past taken as the model, and the current times, often described with lamentation. In the *Heike hyōban*, the commentator constantly points out the gap

⁵⁵² Ibid., 237.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 231.

between the “age of the sages” and the “Latter Age” that continues from the eleventh century to the contemporary seventeenth century. This attitude is similar to that adopted by European scholars of the Renaissance period who saw classical culture as superior to that of their own times and made efforts “to revivify the Golden Age of Republican and/or Imperial Rome”⁵⁵⁴ in literature, education, and politics. Discrepancies with the past model were not seen as beneficial, and the goal was the return to practices of the idealized past. As explained by the literary scholar Richard Waswo,

[...] the only good change was a change back to something presumably better *because* nearer to the ‘sources’. It took a whole century of argument (the seventeenth) to arrive at the notion that change was itself desirable, under the since tyrannical appellation of ‘progress’.⁵⁵⁵

Thus, the *Heike hyōban*’s admiration for sages of antiquity and the persistent advice to follow their practices match the aspiration of Renaissance scholars to learn from and imitate ancient Roman practices.

A work of political history and advice with emphasis on the contrast between the ancient Roman past and the situation in the sixteenth-century Italy is the *Discourses on Livy* (full title is *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, It. *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*), written in the early sixteenth century, around 1517, by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527 CE), and published in 1531 with the papal privilege. This work is remarkably close to the Japanese commentary *Heike hyōban*, both in its approach to history and commentarial method, and will be discussed in greater detail. Taking the first ten books of Titus Livius’ (Livy, 59 BCE-17 CE) historical work, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* (*Books from the Foundation of the City*, known as the

⁵⁵⁴ Richard Waswo, “Theories of language,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 3: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 25.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 27.

History of Rome), as the basis of the commentary, Machiavelli discusses a range of topics related to statecraft and politics showing contrast with contemporary affairs, formulating advice, and analyzing the causes of success and failure. The resulting text is not merely a historical commentary, but a work of political philosophy with many didactic traits of “mirrors for princes.”⁵⁵⁶ He dedicated it to his two friends who, according to Machiavelli, were worthy of being princes.

Machiavelli describes the reason for writing the work in the Introduction to Book I, lamenting that people value ancient statues, use Roman laws, and study ancient medicine, but nobody imitates the virtues and wisdom displayed by the rulers and citizens of ancient states. Then, he adds:

And yet to found a republic, maintain states, to govern a kingdom, organize an army, conduct a war, dispense justice, and extend empires, you will find neither prince, nor republic, nor captain, nor citizen, who has recourse to the examples of antiquity! This neglect, I am persuaded, is due less to the weakness to which the vices of our education have reduced the world, than to the evils caused by the proud indolence which prevails in most of the Christian states, and to the lack of real knowledge of history, the true sense of which is not known, or the spirit of which they do not comprehend. Thus the majority of those who read it take pleasure only in the variety of the events which history relates, without ever thinking of imitating the noble actions, deeming that not only difficult, but impossible; as though heaven, the sun, the elements, and men had changed the order of their motions and power, and were different from what they were in ancient times. Wishing, therefore, so far as in me lies, to draw mankind from this error, I have thought it proper to write upon those books of Titus Livius that have come to us entire despite the

⁵⁵⁶ Although mostly known for the *Prince* (1513, published in 1532), Machiavelli in his other works expresses ideas that are pragmatic, but not expressly immoral and cynical, with the ends justifying the means. This contrast was noted, for example, by French writer and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in his work the *Social Contract or the Principles of Political Right* (*Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique*, 1762):

Machiavelli was a proper man and a good citizen; but, being attached to the court of the Medici, he could not help veiling his love of liberty in the midst of his country's oppression. The choice of his detestable hero, Caesar Borgia, clearly enough shows his hidden aim; and the contradiction between the teaching of the *Prince* and that of the *Discourses on Livy* and the *History of Florence* shows that this profound political thinker has so far been studied only by superficial or corrupt readers. The Court of Rome sternly prohibited his book. I can well believe it; for it is that Court it most clearly portrays.

(Book 3, chapter 6 “Monarchy,” note for the *Prince*)

English translation of 1782 by G. D. H. Cole. Text quoted from: http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon_03.htm.

malice of time; touching upon all those matters which, after a comparison between the ancient and modern events, may seem to me necessary to facilitate their proper understanding. In this way those who read my remarks may derive those advantages which should be the aim of all study of history; and although the undertaking is difficult, yet, aided by those who have encouraged me in this attempt, I hope to carry it sufficiently far, so that but little may remain for others to carry it to its destined end.⁵⁵⁷

The work is intended as a guide to restoring the true understanding of history which consists in learning practical lessons and striving to imitate virtuous and wise actions of the ancients. In the Introduction to Book II, Machiavelli justifies his praise for the ancient past as follows:

[...] whoever is born in Italy and Greece [...] has good reason to find fault with his own and to praise the olden times; for in their past there are many things worthy of the highest admiration, whilst the present has nothing that compensates for all the extreme misery, infamy, and degradation of a period where there is neither observance of religion, law, or military discipline, and which is stained by every species of the lowest brutality; and these vices are the more detestable as they exist amongst those who sit in the tribunals as judges, and hold all power in their hands, and claim to be adored.

[...]

I know not, then, whether I deserve to be classed with those who deceive themselves, if in these Discourses I shall laud too much the times of ancient Rome and censure those of our own day. And truly, if the virtues that ruled then and the vices that prevail now were not as clear as the sun, I should be more reticent in my expressions, lest I should fall into the very error for which I reproach others. But the matter being so manifest that everybody sees it, I shall boldly and openly say what I think of the former times and of the present, so as to excite in the minds of the young men who may read my writings the desire to avoid the evils of the latter, and to prepare themselves to imitate the virtues of the former, whenever fortune presents them the occasion.⁵⁵⁸

Let us consider several passages that illustrate the style and content of the work. The following excerpt is about the religion of the Romans:

⁵⁵⁷ Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli*, tr. from the Italian by Christian E. Detmold, vol. 2 (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1882). Text quoted from: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/775#Machiavelli_0076-02_210.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., Book II, Introduction.

Numa [Pompilius],⁵⁵⁹ finding a very savage people, and wishing to reduce them to civil obedience by the arts of peace, had recourse to religion as the most necessary and assured support of any civil society; and he established it upon such foundations that for many centuries there was nowhere more fear of the gods than in that republic, which greatly facilitated all the enterprises which the Senate or its great men attempted. Whoever will examine the actions of the people of Rome as a body, or of many individual Romans, will see that these citizens feared much more to break an oath than the laws; like men who esteem the power of the gods more than that of men.

[...]

And whoever reads Roman history attentively will see in how great a degree religion served in the command of the armies, in uniting the people and keeping them well conducted, and in covering the wicked with shame.

[...]

In truth, there never was any remarkable lawgiver amongst any people who did not resort to divine authority, as otherwise his laws would not have been accepted by the people.

[...]

I conclude that the religion introduced by Numa into Rome was one of the chief causes of the prosperity of that city; for this religion gave rise to good laws, and good laws bring good fortune, and from good fortune results happy success in all enterprises. And as the observance of divine institutions is the cause of the greatness of republics, so the disregard of them produces their ruin; for where the fear of God is wanting, there the country will come to ruin, unless it be sustained by the fear of the prince, which may temporarily supply the want of religion. But as the lives of princes are short, the kingdom will of necessity perish as the prince fails in virtue.

[...]

And although untutored and ignorant men are more easily persuaded to adopt new laws or new opinions, yet that does not make it impossible to persuade civilized men who claim to be enlightened. The people of Florence are far from considering themselves ignorant and benighted, and yet Brother Girolamo Savonarola⁵⁶⁰ succeeded in persuading them that he held converse with God. I will not pretend to judge whether it was true or not, for we must speak with all respect of so great a man; but I may well say that an immense number believed it, without having seen any extraordinary manifestations that should have made them believe it; but it was the purity of his life, the doctrines he

⁵⁵⁹ Numa Pompilius (753-673 BCE, r. 715-673 BCE) - the semilegendary second king of Rome who established important political and religious institutions.

⁵⁶⁰ Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498 CE) - an Italian Dominican friar, preacher, reformer, and martyr.

preached, and the subjects he selected for his discourses, that sufficed to make the people have faith in him.⁵⁶¹

Similar to many passages in the *Heike hyōban*, religion is viewed as a means rulers use to gain people's support and keep society united and well-behaved. The general flow of the comment is also similar to the *Heike hyōban*: the discussion starts with ancient Roman history, followed by the author's derivation of general principles and techniques and his expression of his own ideas on statecraft, and then ends with a recent example. Throughout this excerpt, the author discusses only benevolent uses of religious persuasion in cases when a sage needs to guide ignorant people, such as the introduction of proper laws and order in society, without mentioning the use of religion to promote or cover up vices.

The following passage, entitled "the importance of giving religion a prominent influence in a state, and how Italy was ruined because she failed in this respect through the conduct of the Church of Rome," argues for maintaining religion to ensure the prosperity of the state, and also openly criticizes the church of his time for ruining Italy:

Princes and republics who wish to maintain themselves free from corruption must above all things preserve the purity of all religious observances, and treat them with proper reverence; for there is no greater indication of the ruin of a country than to see religion condemned. [...] And certainly, if the Christian religion had from the beginning been maintained according to the principles of its founder, the Christian states and republics would have been much more united and happy than what they are. Nor can there be a greater proof of its decadence than to witness the fact that the nearer people are to the Church of Rome, which is the head of our religion, the less religious are they. And whoever examines the principles upon which that religion is founded, and sees how widely different from those principles its present practice and application are, will judge that her ruin or chastisement is near at hand.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli*, Book I, Chapter 11.

⁵⁶² Ibid., Book I, Chapter 12.

This bold attitude is similar to the *Heike hyōban*'s advice to keep both Buddhism and Shinto and to build temples, which is mixed with the outspoken criticism of Buddhist monks of the Latter Age who indulge in greed, often cause disorder in the state, and corrupt true Buddhism.

Machiavelli also gives advice to princes, explaining the causes that make a ruler lose the throne, and also suggesting how to keep it:

Princes should remember, then, that they begin to lose their state from the moment when they begin to disregard the laws and ancient customs under which the people have lived contented for a length of time. And if, having thus lost their state, they should ever become wise enough to see with what facility princes preserve their thrones who conduct themselves prudently, they would regret their loss the more, and would condemn themselves to greater punishments than that to which others have doomed them. For it is much easier to be beloved by the good than the wicked, and to obey the laws than to enforce them; and if kings desire to know what course they have to pursue to do this, they need take no other trouble than to follow the example of the lives of good rulers, such as Timoleon of Corinth, Aratus of Sicyon,⁵⁶³ and the like, whose lives they will find to have afforded as much security and satisfaction to him who ruled as to those who were governed; which should make kings desire to imitate them, as is easily done. For when men are well governed, they neither seek nor desire any other liberty; as was experienced by the two above-named princes, whom their people constrained to reign to the end of their lives, though they often wished to retire to private life.⁵⁶⁴

Conspiracies against the ruler are discussed in detail, which is similar to the *Heike hyōban*'s lengthy comment on the Shishi-ga-tani plot against the Heike. Machiavelli introduces the topic as follows:

It seems to me proper now to treat of conspiracies, being a matter of so much danger both to princes and subjects; for history teaches us that many more princes have lost their lives and their states by conspiracies than by open war. But few can venture to make open war upon their sovereign, whilst every one may engage in conspiracies against him. On the other hand, subjects cannot undertake more perilous and foolhardy enterprises than

⁵⁶³ Timoleon of Corinth (ca. 411-337 BCE) was an ancient Greek statesman and military leader, and Aratus of Sicyon (271-213 BCE), an ancient Greek statesman, diplomat, and warrior.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., Book III, Chapter 5.

conspiracies, which are in every respect most difficult and dangerous; and thence it is that, though so often attempted, yet they so rarely attain the desired object.⁵⁶⁵

He examines plots by individuals and by groups, illustrating his discussion with examples from ancient Rome and “our times.” Although he argues against resorting to plots, Machiavelli treats the topic at length, discussing typical causes and the mistakes that threaten both sides. He notes the general difficulty of avoiding discovery: “I say that it requires the extremest prudence, or great good fortune, that a conspiracy shall not be discovered in the process of formation.”⁵⁶⁶

He gives the following advice on how to minimize the risk:

The conduct of a conspiracy then is exposed to all such dangers before it can be carried into execution; and to avoid these perils the following remedies present themselves. The first and most certain, I should rather say the only one, is not to afford your associates in the plot any time to betray you; and therefore you should confide your project to them at the moment of its execution, and not sooner.⁵⁶⁷

Analyzing dangers that follow a plot, he mentions revenge by relatives and heirs of the prince who were spared by negligence of conspirators, and also notes:

But of all the perils that follow the execution of a conspiracy, none is more certain and none more to be feared than the attachment of the people to the prince that has been killed. There is no remedy against this, for the conspirators can never secure themselves against a whole people. As an instance of this, I will cite the case of Julius Cæsar [100-44 BCE], who, being beloved by the people, was avenged by them; for having driven the conspirators from Rome, they were the cause of their being all killed at various times and places. [...] ⁵⁶⁸

One of the most common topics in “mirrors for princes” literature in different times and places is highlighting the influence the rulers have on their subjects by showing a good or bad

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., Book III, Chapter 6.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

example. This view of ruler-people relations is conveniently tied to ethical admonitions about self-improvement, which is seen as beneficial for the whole state. Taking this stance, the advisor and writer of the treatise holds the ruler accountable for various troubles in the state, preventing the shift of all responsibility and blame to the people. The idea of a ruler being a model for his subordinates is a central theme in many sections of the *Heike hyōban* that enables the commentator to criticize rulers and generals based on ethics and competence. In the *Discourses on Livy*, one chapter is devoted to the same topic and it is plainly entitled “the faults of the people spring from the faults of their rulers.” The comment is as follows:

Let not princes complain of the faults committed by the people subjected to their authority, for they result entirely from their own negligence or bad example. In examining the people who in our day have been given to brigandage and other vices of that kind, we see that these arise entirely from the faults of their rulers, who were guilty of similar abuses. Before Pope Alexander VI.⁵⁶⁹ had crushed the petty tyrants that ruled the Romagna, that country presented an example of all the worst crimes. The slightest causes gave rise to murder and every species of rapine; and this was due exclusively to the wickedness of the princes, and not to the evil nature of the people, as alleged by the former. For these princes, being poor, yet wishing to live in luxury like the rich, were obliged to resort to every variety of robbery. And amongst other dishonest means which they employed was the making of laws prohibiting some one thing or another; and immediately after, they were themselves the first to encourage their non-observance, leaving such transgressions unpunished until a great number of persons had been guilty of it, and then suddenly they turned to prosecute the transgressors; not from any zeal for the law, but solely from cupidity, in the expectation of obtaining money for commuting the punishment. These infamous proceedings caused many evils; the worst of them was that the people became impoverished without being corrected, and that then the stronger amongst them endeavored to make good their losses by plundering the weaker. This gave rise to all the evils of which we have spoken above, and which are chargeable exclusively upon the princes. Titus Livius confirms this assertion when he relates how the Roman ambassadors, who were charged with carrying to Delphos a portion of the spoils taken at [the Battle of] Veii [ca. 396 BCE] and consecrated to Apollo, were captured by the corsairs of Lipari in Sicily, and carried on shore. The Prince Timasitheus,⁵⁷⁰ on being informed what gifts these ambassadors were carrying and their destination, conducted

⁵⁶⁹ Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503 CE, pope from 1492 until his death).

⁵⁷⁰ Timasitheus of Lipara (ca. 400 BCE) was a local Greek ruler.

himself like a Roman, although a native of Lipari. He pointed out to his people how impious it would be to seize such a gift, and with the general consent allowed the ambassadors to depart with all their things. Upon which the historian [Livy] remarks in the following terms: “Timasitheus inspired the multitude with a sentiment of religion, and they always imitate their rulers.” And Lorenzo de’ Medici⁵⁷¹ confirms this idea by saying: “The example of the prince is followed by the masses, who keep their eyes always turned upon their chief.”⁵⁷²

The *Discourses on Livy* is not a military treatise, but it includes sections with matters related to military organization and discipline as a part of statecraft. Similar to the *Heike hyōban*’s criticism of incompetent warriors of the Latter Age, such as the Heike, with veiled hints at early-Edo warriors, Machiavelli considers the Roman army a superior model and deplores the practices of his own times. In the chapter on military organization he writes:

Titus Livius gives the whole organization of the Roman armies, and their order of battle; as he has explained this very fully, I shall not repeat it here, but will only remark upon such points as seem to me especially noteworthy, and the neglect of which by all the commanders of our times has given rise to great disorders in the armies during battle. ... The commanders of our day, having entirely abandoned the ancient military organization and discipline, have also abandoned this plan of order of battle, which is none the less a most important one. For a general who disposes his army in such manner that it can rally three several times in the course of a battle, must have fortune against him three times before being defeated, and must have an enemy opposed to him sufficiently superior to overcome him three times. But if an army can resist only a single shock, as is the case nowadays with the Christian armies, it may easily lose the battle; for with the slightest

⁵⁷¹ Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449-1492 CE) - Italian (Florentine) statesman, patron of scholars and artists. The quote is from his *Saint John and Paul Play* (*Rappresentazione di san Giovanni e Paolo*, 1491). This religious play contains passages intended as cautionary precepts for rulers, and one of its themes is power as a service and burden. Such plays also taught religion and elocution, and were part of the educational program for young people. The play was performed for a private audience by a group of youths led by one of the sons of Lorenzo de’ Medici. See *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Gaetana Marrone (New York, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 1179, 1652.

The literary scholar Sarah Rolfe Prodan describes this play’s performance as follows:

In February 1491, the twelve-year-old Giuliano [(1479-1516), Lorenzo de’ Medici’s son and active member of the youth confraternity San Giovanni Evangelista] organized and oversaw the performance of his father’s *Sacra rappresentazione di san Giovanni e Paolo* in the confraternity garden, an event attended by Lorenzo and many eminent men.

Sarah Rolfe Prodan, *Michelangelo’s Christian Mysticism: Spirituality, Poetry, and Art in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 99.

⁵⁷² Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli*, Book III, Chapter 29.

disorder even the most mediocre courage may carry off the victory. And what prevents our armies from being able to rally three times is the abandonment of the old Roman method of receiving one rank within another; and this has arisen from the present system of order of battle...⁵⁷³

In the following section, he classifies different types of armies and severely criticizes the armies of his time:

I maintain that there are three different characters of troops. One combines warlike ardor with discipline: this produces true valor, like that of the Romans.

[...]

For good order sustains the courage and reanimates that ardor with the hope of victory, which will never fail if discipline be preserved. The reverse of this happens to armies that have ardor without discipline: such was the case with the Gauls, who were wholly wanting in discipline during combat. For if they did not overthrow the enemy by their first furious onset, upon which they relied for victory, not being sustained by a well-regulated valor, and having nothing besides their impetuosity to give them confidence, they failed when that first ardor was cooled.

[...]

The third kind of armies are such as have neither natural courage nor discipline. Of this kind are the Italian armies of our time, which are entirely useless. Unless they fall upon an enemy that by some accident has taken to flight, they are never victorious. Without citing any special instances, we have daily proofs of their total lack of valor.

[...] ⁵⁷⁴

Army command and the qualities required of a general are topics that also interest Machiavelli. The idea of inspiring the confidence of the army in victory is described as the necessary condition for success. He mentions the Roman practice of relying on religious ceremonies to assure warriors, but argues that in Italy in the sixteenth century, the same goal should be attained by proper discipline and the general's reputation and abilities:

To make an army victorious in battle it is necessary to inspire them with confidence, so as to make them believe that the victory will be theirs under any circumstances. But to give an army such confidence they must be well armed and disciplined, and the men must

⁵⁷³ Ibid., Book II, Chapter 16.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., Book III, Chapter 36.

know each other; such confidence and discipline, however, can exist only where the troops are natives of the same country, and have lived together for some time. It is necessary also that they should esteem their general, and have confidence in his ability; and this will not fail to be the case when they see him orderly, watchful, and courageous, and that he maintains the dignity of his rank by a proper reputation. All this he will do by punishing faults, by not fatiguing his troops unnecessarily, by strictly fulfilling his promises, by showing them that victory is easy, and by concealing or making light of the dangers which he discerns from afar. These maxims well observed are the best means of inspiring the troops with that confidence which is the surest pledge of victory. The Romans were in the habit of resorting to religion for the purpose of inspiring their armies with confidence; and availed of auspices and auguries in the creation of their consuls, in the levying of troops, and before sending their armies into the field or engaging in battle. Without this no prudent captain would ever have hazarded an action, fearful of defeat if his soldiers had not been assured beforehand that they would have the gods on their side.⁵⁷⁵

In sections of the *Heike hyōban* addressing divination practices, the commentator considers them potentially useful for inspiring confidence, but the emphasis is on practical matters of organization, discipline, and the qualities of a general. Stratagems and deceit in battle are a theme in the *Heike hyōban*, and we also see this issue discussed in the *Discourses on Livy*. In the chapter entitled “deceit in the conduct of a war is meritorious,” they are praised and distinguished from perfidy as follows:

Although deceit is detestable in all other things, yet in the conduct of war it is laudable and honorable; and a commander who vanquishes an enemy by stratagem is equally praised with one who gains victory by force. This is proved by the judgment of those who have written the lives of great men, and who give much credit to Hannibal⁵⁷⁶ and others who were most remarkable in that respect. History gives so many examples of this that I need not cite any of them here. But I will say this, that I do not confound such deceit with perfidy, which breaks pledged faith and treaties; for although states and kingdoms may at times be won by perfidy, yet will it ever bring dishonor with it. But I speak of those feints and stratagems which you employ against an enemy that distrusts you, and in the employment of which properly consists the art of war. Such was that practised by

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., Book III, Chapter 33.

⁵⁷⁶ Hannibal (247-183 BCE) - a Carthaginian general. He led the Carthaginian forces against Rome in the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE).

Hannibal when he feigned flight on the lake of Perugia (Thrasimene), for the purpose of hemming in the Consul and the Roman army; and when he attached blazing fagots to the horns of his cattle to enable him to escape from the hands of Fabius Maximus.⁵⁷⁷ Such was also the stratagem of Pontius, general of the Samnites,⁵⁷⁸ to draw the Romans into the defiles of the Caudine Forks. [...]⁵⁷⁹

The above examples show that the *Discourses on Livy*, a commentary on the ancient Roman historical text by Livy, functions as a “mirror for princes,” a didactic work on topics related to statecraft, strategy, religion, laws, and ethics. Its commentarial techniques, rhetorical style, and content are similar to those found in the *Heike hyōban*.

After discussing Machiavelli, it is also necessary to mention some of his opponents, such as the Spanish Jesuit writers who actively produced wisdom and advice literature, including “mirrors for princes,” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following discussion demonstrates that the format and style of “mirrors for princes” was used by different, even mutually opposed scholars and thinkers. Judging Machiavelli’s teachings, especially the *Prince*, as a move toward the separation of politics from theology and moral philosophy, anti-Machiavellian Jesuits sought to combine effective political rule with Christian spirituality and virtues, which were considered the basis of the state. French political thinkers influenced by Machiavelli were criticized in Spain as proponents of tyrannical government with an immoral ruler who cheats and breaks divine and human laws for reasons of state. Spanish Catholic writers, who considered this position “devilish” and called Machiavelli “this evil man and minister of

⁵⁷⁷ Fabius Maximus (ca. 280-203 BCE) was a Roman statesman and general.

⁵⁷⁸ Gaius Pontius (late fourth century BCE) was a Samnite leader who used a ruse to trap the Romans in a mountain pass in southern Italy and forced them to surrender in 321 BCE.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., Book III, Chapter 40.

Satan” (este mal hombre y ministro de Satanás), responded with numerous treatises intended to educate princes on how to govern and maintain their states in accordance with Catholic ethics.⁵⁸⁰

One of the most important Jesuit “mirrors for princes” is the *Treatise on Religion and Virtues that a Christian Prince should have to Govern and Maintain his State: Against the Teachings of Niccolò Machiavelli and Political Thinkers of This Time* (*Tratado de la Religion y Virtudes que deue tener el Príncipe Christiano, para gobernar y conseruar sus Estados. Contra lo que Nicolas Machiauelo y los Políticos deste tiempo enseñan*, Madrid, 1595), by the Spanish Jesuit diplomat and official, Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611).⁵⁸¹ Dedicated to the Prince and future King, Philip III of Spain (1578-1621, r. 1598-1621), the book’s first part talks about religion being above the state, with God as the source of the political power of the prince, who has to be guided by Catholic religion to accomplish its universal spread. The second part of the book analyzes—relying on works of the Roman politician and philosopher Cicero (106-43 BCE), and the Italian philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 CE)—specific virtues on which the rule of a Christian ruler is based, such as justice, temperance, prudence, and strength, all of which are compatible with Catholic morality, as well as advice on their practical application.⁵⁸² For example, the virtue of courage is discussed with advice on practical aspects, such as the training of troops and remuneration.

⁵⁸⁰ Florencio Hubeñak, “El antimaquiavelismo de Ribadeneyra en la educación de príncipes,” Digital Library of Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina, 2010, 1-11. Online version: <http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/contribuciones/antimaquiavelismo-ribadeneyra.pdf>.

⁵⁸¹ The entire text has 560 pages. The work is available online: the repository of the University of Granada (Repositorio Institucional de la Universidad de Granada), <http://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/5066>.

⁵⁸² Ibid., 6.

Mario Prades Vilar, “La teoría de la simulación de Pedro de Ribadeneyra y el “maquiavelismo de los antimaquiavélicos,” *Ingenium, Revista electrónica de pensamiento moderno y metodología en historia de las ideas* 5 (January-June 2011): 139. Online version: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/INGE/article/view/36222/35075>.

Justification of deception and pretence or simulation in this work has been interpreted by critics as a Machiavellian trait that contradicts the alleged religious morality of Christian politics. The intellectual historian Mario Prades Vilar suggests that approval of deception in politics by itself should not be considered Machiavellian, since Ribadeneyra stays within the tradition of Catholic moral thinking and Jesuit casuistry.⁵⁸³ Ribadeneyra criticizes deception and hypocrisy used as a virtuous mask, hiding vices for the purpose of keeping the state. He discusses several cases when deception is permissible to a Christian prince, for example, when he needs to keep some actions and intentions secret—which is an unavoidable essential element in politics—or when he has to hide something out of prudence. In such cases, deception is allowed because it is no longer a “sinful” lie, but a prudent behaviour. Despite apparent parallelism with unscrupulous Machiavellian teachings given in the *Prince*, the major difference is in the intention and purpose of deceit. Ribadeneyra relies on the long Christian tradition, such as the doctrines of the early Christian theologian and philosopher Saint Augustine (354-430 CE) and Thomas Aquinas, in addition to the ancient Roman judicial tradition, which differentiates between “good deception” (*dolus bonus*)—used as a defensive strategy against bandits or enemies—, and “bad deception” (*dolus malus*), meaning an ill-intentioned ruse or fraud.

Especially interesting is Ribadeneyra’s adoption of concepts elaborated by Martín de Azpilcueta, also known as Doctor Navarrus (1491-1586 CE), a prominent Spanish theologian, economist, and Jesuit theoretician of casuistry. In one of his works, published in 1584, he commented on the following quote from pope Gregory the Great’s (ca. 540-604 CE, pope from 590 to his death) the *Morals on the Book of Job* (*Moralium Libri*), which states that God cares

⁵⁸³ Mario Prades Vilar, “La teoría de la simulación de Pedro de Ribadeneyra y el “maquiavelismo de los antimaquiavélicos,” 162.

more about the intention that comes from the heart than about uttered words which are easily distorted:

The ears of men consider our words to be such as they sound outwardly, but the divine judgments hear them as they are uttered from our inmost heart. Among men, our heart is judged of from our words, but with God, our words are judged of from our heart.⁵⁸⁴

Based on this idea, Martín de Azpilcueta developed his doctrine of mental reservation based on the omission of truth, which he elaborated during a series of lectures given in a Jesuit college. He used the difference between what is said to human ears and what is uttered from the heart to allow a speaker to add a mental overtone to a vocal proposition modifying the overall truth value without deceiving one's own conscience and God, who hears the entire phrase, vocal and mental. According to his teaching, this kind of deception is permissible—even before a judge or spiritual superior—in cases when a person needs to simulate for reasons of security or honour, or in order to realize some virtuous action. It is considered prudence, not falsehood. Again, the decisive point is the intention and purpose of the simulation, which is evaluated negatively when used without just cause.⁵⁸⁵ The existence of such theories within Catholic tradition shows that Jesuit “mirrors for princes” could teach “good” deception and political prudence without falling into Machiavellianism and without contradicting Christian virtues.

It is clear that Jesuits were very active in Spain and Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the production of political writings such as “mirrors for princes,” and

⁵⁸⁴ *Morals on the Book of Job by S. Gregory the Great*, trans. James Bliss and Charles Marriott (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1844). Available online: Lectionary Central, <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia/Book26.html>. Original Latin text: “Humanae aures verba nostra talia judicant qualia foris sonant; divina vero judicia talia ea audiunt qualia ex intimis proferentur. Apud homines cor ex verbis, apud Deum vero verba pensantur ex corde.”

⁵⁸⁵ Mario Prades Vilar, “La teoría de la simulación de Pedro de Ribadeneyra y el “maquiavelismo de los antimaquiavélicos,” 158-160. See also Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

they served as diplomats, royal preachers and advisors.⁵⁸⁶ Jesuit missionaries were also active in East Asia, including Japan, and they had interest in historical works such as the *Taiheiki* and the *Heike*. They created and printed their own versions of these texts, using them as textbooks of Japanese language and history.⁵⁸⁷

Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, Jesuit treatises for Christian princes, and early-Edo *hyōban* commentaries on governance demonstrate that the format of "mirrors for princes" was

⁵⁸⁶ The following two Spanish "mirrors for princes" are exactly contemporary with the *Heike hyōban*. The first is the *Idea of a Christian Political Prince, in a Hundred Emblems* (*Idea de vn principe politico christiano: representada en cien empressas*, 1640, 784 pages) by Spanish diplomat and writer Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584-1648). The work, written primarily for the king's son, contains a hundred essays with examples from classical texts and recent history. It is available online: <https://archive.org/details/ideadeunprincipe42saav>.

The second is the *Perfect Prince and True Ministers: Political and Moral Documents* (*Principe perfecto y ministros aivstados, documentos politicos, y morales*, 1662, 458 pages) by Andrés Mendo (1608-1684), a Jesuit political writer, theologian, censor of Spanish Inquisition, and royal preacher. The work is available online: <https://archive.org/details/principeperfecto02mend>.

⁵⁸⁷ The question of any potential Jesuit influence on Japanese didactic commentaries requires research based on solid evidence. According to a highly tentative hypothesis by the literary scholar Higuchi Daisuke, historical narratives like the *Taiheiki hyōban* and *gunsho* texts of the early Edo period contain histories of groups that were suppressed or lost status during the unification of Japan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Such groups included supporters of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and converted Christians. (p. 273) Higuchi shows that the *Taiheiki hyōban* contains legends—likely circulating among Japanese Christians—that tell in a disguised form about the Christian daimyo Ikeda Norimasa (池田教正, late sixteenth century). See Higuchi Daisuke, "*Ranse*" *no ekurichūru: tenkeiki no hito to bunka* (Shinwasha, 2009), 238-245.

In addition, discussing the reinterpretation of Chinese classics, the intellectual historian Rudolf G. Wagner notes the similarity between various cases of the appropriation of a tradition in the history of religion and philosophy:

The appropriation of a tradition through the commentarial appropriation of a text is not a rare phenomenon in the history and phenomenology of the commentary. We can observe very similar processes since the late 16th century with the Jesuits, the Protestant Missionaries, and eventually the Taipings in China entering the competition for the interpretation of the Chinese classics. In this process the commentary becomes a vital instrument to incorporate into a tradition the vital elements of another while at the same time subordinating its teaching to the new dispensation and thus disclaiming the superiority and authority of the traditional guardians of the text. (p. 120)

And also,

In China ..., the Jesuit and Protestant missionaries reread the Chinese classics as containing the notion of God and the fundamental moral precepts, although they claimed they had by now been largely forgotten by the Chinese themselves. On the basis of this basic compatibility the missionaries could claim that they only brought back to the Chinese the original wisdom of their sages of antiquity, adding the new message about Christ's salvational role. In the same manner, the Chinese Buddhists of the fourth and fifth centuries offered themselves as the rediscoverers of the true and exceedingly sophisticated teachings of the *Laozi* which had been buried in the superstitious nonsense of contemporary believers or by the cryptic density of the *Laozi*'s statements. At the same time, they brought something new, namely, a path to reach Buddhahood. In the West we would find similar developments in the scholastic appropriation of Aristotle and the Christian appropriation of the Hebrew testament, which in both cases proceeded through a radical and often commentarial rereading of the material in the light of the new dispensation.... (p. 103)

Rudolf G. Wagner, "Exploring the Common Ground: Buddhist Commentaries on the Taoist Classic *Laozi*," in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1999), 95-120.

used by different writers to argue for their own views on statecraft, leadership, ethics, and history. As follows from the above comparative overview, issues discussed in the *Heike hyōban* and its commentarial format were not unusual, but very common in different times and places until the seventeenth century. For its time, the *Heike hyōban* (and similar texts) was a conventional work of didactic political scholarship.

8.5 Several Comparative Remarks on “Secret” Scholarship

Above, I have discussed European commentaries that graft ethical didactic content onto ancient mythology or other kinds of works. During the medieval period, it was common to Christianize or moralize works that were initially non-Christian or not intended for preaching. A more unusual and original kind of commentarial reinterpretation is the so-called alchemization done by medieval and Renaissance alchemists who commented on texts such as the Bible, ancient myths, and ancient and medieval literary texts⁵⁸⁸ with the aim to show that these texts contained hidden alchemical secrets beyond plain literal sense.

I discuss this type of commentarial appropriation as a parallel case to the appropriation of the *Heike* by scholars of military studies in the early Edo period. I also show the persistence of earlier scholarly traditions with ancient or medieval roots, and their adaptability to new contexts. Alchemy in Europe, and Japanese military studies of the medieval and early modern periods, are completely separate disciplines, but examination of alchemical commentaries helps understand how and why a field like military studies appropriated the *Heike* and other texts. Despite clear difference in content, both alchemy and military studies have considerable similarities in

⁵⁸⁸ The intellectual historian Sylvain Matton writes:

...hermeneutical work of alchemists was progressively conducted beyond alchemical texts proper since, not to mention their alchemical readings of paintings, sculptures or architectural monuments ..., this work also applied to literary, mythological, biblical, medical, and to a lesser extent, philosophical texts.

Sylvain Matton, “Le commentaire dans la littérature alchimique,” in *Le Commentaire entre Tradition et Innovation*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2000), 453.

philosophy, scholarly methodology, and organization that make a comparative discussion possible. Both teachings have a practical dimension (transformation of metals and other substances in one case, and organization and command of state and army in the other), an ethical dimension (spiritual purity required of alchemists for success, and the requirement for a general to have a correct heart/mind with qualities such as bravery and wisdom to achieve victory), and an exegetical dimension (both traditions are transmitted by commentaries and initiations). Other similarities include the combination of worldly and supernatural concepts, the need to legitimate the “science” by claims of ancient roots, and the ability to survive for a long time by adapting to the circumstances.

One problem faced by Renaissance alchemists was the absence of their science in the Bible and Greco-Roman classics, in contrast to astrology, magic, and medicine. In the medieval period, alchemy occupied a marginal place outside of scholastic philosophy, general scholarship, and even medieval literature. This lack of recognized status among other disciplines gave an impetus to alchemists’ commentarial activity, through which other fields of knowledge were appropriated. The intellectual historian Didier Kahn describes this as follows:

During the entire sixteenth century alchemists deployed an entire strategy in order to counteract the effects of this lacuna and to affirm the legitimacy, antiquity, dignity and veracity of their science. Appearance of alchemical commentaries on literary texts took place within the frame of this great apologetic effort.⁵⁸⁹

The Italian physician and alchemist Pietro Bono (Petrus Bonus, fourteenth century CE) wrote a treatise and a commentary for those who were not initiated, the *New Precious Pearl* (*Pretiosa*

⁵⁸⁹ Didier Kahn, “Les commentaires alchimiques de textes littéraires,” in *Le Commentaire entre Tradition et Innovation*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2000), 476.

margarita novella, ca. 1330 CE), aiming to present alchemy as a scholastic philosophy.⁵⁹⁰ The literary scholar Jean-Marc Mandosio describes his goal as follows:

The aim of Petrus Bonus, by “introducing into the entire art of alchemy,” is not to make the *practice* of this art accessible to the uninitiated (which would be a flagrant violation of the secret that the author avoids to commit), but to have alchemy recognized, in the cultural context of Italy in the early fourteenth century, as a legitimate teaching – not a *new* art imported from Muslim lands (which it really is), but a *very ancient* art that can boast of as many classical references as the most noble disciplines: in this way are attached not only “Hermes Trismegistus, father and prophet of philosophers,” but also “Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Democritus, Aristoteles, Zeno, Heraclitus, Dedalus, Diogenes, [...] Parmenides, Melissus, Empedocles, [...] Ptolemeus, Homerus, Vergilius, Ovidius, and many other philosophers.” Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264), who discusses alchemy in his *Speculum majus*, a vast encyclopaedic compilation, goes even further, since he thinks—based on an alchemical text *De anima* by pseudo-Avicenna—that “the masters of this art were Adam, Noah, [...] Moses, Cato, Virgil, Aristotle, Alexander,” and even “John the Evangelist.” This recognition was the result of efforts of numerous generations of alchemists who patiently elaborated an apocryphal history of their discipline meant to show that the most admired figures practiced alchemy: the corpus of Greek alchemists already attributed alchemical texts to Hermes, Democritus, Cleopatra, or emperor Justinian.⁵⁹¹

Alchemical commentaries do not aim to explain everything, and they typically pretend to explain without revealing the main secret. Discussion of general principles, methods, tools, or the distinction between true alchemists and frauds is often relatively clear and detailed, but the commentary becomes obscure when explaining key topics such as the preparation of an elixir or the philosophical stone.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ This influential text was published in 1546 and was later included in *Theatrum Chemicum*, a comprehensive work on alchemy in six volumes, published from 1602 to 1661, and also in the alchemical anthology *Bibliotheca Curiosa Chemica*, published in 1702.

⁵⁹¹ Jean-Marc Mandosio, “Commentaire alchimique et commentaire philosophique,” in *Le Commentaire entre Tradition et Innovation*, ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2000), 487-488.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 487.

The same tendency is noted in the Japanese text on swordsmanship, the *Family Transmission Book on Swordsmanship* (*Heihō kadensho*, 1632) by Yagyū Munenori (1571-1646), a warrior and official swordsmanship

Alchemical readings of classical myths were commonly found in the seventeenth century, when many alchemical commentaries were created. For example, in the early seventeenth century, physician and alchemist Michel Maier (1569-1622) in the *Most Secret Secrets (Arcana arcanissima)* gave a systematic alchemical reading of classical myths.⁵⁹³ These ingenious interpretations revealing the “true” alchemical sense hidden by the ancients under the guise of myths were mocked by some learned people, but were also taken seriously by other scholars, such as the Dutch gymnasium rector and philologist Jacques Tollius (1633-96), or the German philosopher and theology professor Georg Pasch (1661-1707). During the eighteenth century, the acceptance of scientific chemistry gradually made alchemy useless, but alchemical readings of ancient texts persisted. Despite the increase in anti-alchemical commentaries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, there were cases of university professors, such as the German professor of medicine in Jena, Georg Wolfgang Wedel (1645-1721), who supported alchemic readings of myths even in the early eighteenth century.⁵⁹⁴

When alchemy lost all credibility as a science in the eighteenth century, alchemical reading of myths did not disappear, but moved from the circle of scientists and scholars writing

tutor to two Tokugawa shoguns. The literary scholar Maki Isaka Morinaga points out that philosophical ideas are described in detail, but concrete information like actual moves and the way to grip a sword is fragmentary and brief:

There seems to exist a tendency of eloquence for abstract ideas and succinctness for physical instruction.... Generally speaking, *Heihō Kadensho* is more likely to be voluble when it comes to philosophical elements and seems to prefer the use of esoteric signifiers when it comes to physical explanation.... the esoteric terminology is likely to envelop concrete information....

Maki Isaka Morinaga, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts: Secret Transmission as a Mode of Knowledge* (Gordonsville, VA, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 33-34.

⁵⁹³ Michel Maier was a German physician and imperial counsellor to Rudolf II, Holy Roman emperor (1552-1612, r. 1576-1612), a patron of arts and a devotee of occult sciences, such as astrology and alchemy, who invited the best alchemists to his court. From 1611 to 1616, Maier was in England at the court of king James I (1566-1625, r. 1603-1625) and the *Arcana arcanissima* was first published in London around 1614. In his other works, he studied not only alchemy, but also so-called “spiritual alchemy,” which is concerned not with metals and elixirs, but with human nature. This example shows that occult sciences had royal patronage in Europe and this phenomenon corresponds to the interest of Japanese daimyo lords of the same period in military studies, including those with occult content, such as divination and magic.

⁵⁹⁴ Matton Sylvain, “L’interprétation alchimique de la mythologie,” *Dix-huitième Siècle* 27 (1995): 80-82.

in Latin to a more popular level with texts in vernacular. For example, French writer and alchemist Antoine Joseph Pernety (1716-1796), who was a Benedictine monk, librarian of Frederick II, King of Prussia (1712-1786, r. 1740-1786), and founder of a secret society of the Illuminati of Avignon in 1760, published in 1758 the *Egyptian and Greek myths revealed and reduced to the same principle, with an explanation of hieroglyphs and of the Trojan War* (*Les Fables égyptiennes et grecques dévoilées & réduites au même principe, avec une explication des hiéroglyphes, et de la guerre de Troye*, Paris, 1758).⁵⁹⁵ This work in French popularized alchemical interpretation of classical myths. Also, manuscripts with “secret” alchemical readings of ancient myths, medieval romances, and legends were compiled—in some cases by anonymous writers—and kept in private libraries, and some of them had wide circulation even in the late eighteenth century. Matton notes that interest in alchemy was revived as a part of Illuminism, a religious and political movement of the eighteenth century, which was a reaction to the dominant rational and materialist philosophy. Followers of Illuminism rejected scholasticism and focused on internal mystical quests and divine inspiration.⁵⁹⁶ They favoured occult readings of Christian and other texts, and also inherited and developed a current within alchemic thought—active since the late sixteenth century—which interpreted alchemy from predominantly spiritual or mystical positions. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, some attempts were made to link alchemical concepts to scientific chemistry, but alchemical ideas and imagery mainly survived and were highly prized in occultism and mysticism, and also in domains such as psychoanalysis and surrealist art.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁵ A digital version of the work is available online: <http://www.e-rara.ch/cgi/doi/10.3931/e-rara-7984>.

⁵⁹⁶ Matton Sylvain, “L’interprétation alchimique de la mythologie,” 86-87.

⁵⁹⁷ Jean-Marc Mandosio, “Commentaire alchimique et commentaire philosophique,” 489.

Japanese military studies of the Edo period, especially those involving divination and supernatural content, followed a similar path. They began with scholars' legitimization efforts by means of the appropriation of known traditions and texts. This was followed by philosophical, spiritual, and political reinterpretation and elaboration, along with rulers' patronage. Finally, they went into subsequent practical decline, accompanied by popularization in amateur scholarship, performing arts, and popular literature. Nevertheless, commentaries like the *Heike hyōban* reached peak significance in the seventeenth century, and despite criticism since the eighteenth century, they retained the interest of readers throughout the Edo period due to their didactic, historical, and ethical content, and their entertaining interpretations of known classics with creative revelations of "secrets."

The above discussion shows that commentarial approaches, content, and intended use of Japanese commentaries like the *Heike hyōban* were common, even in a worldwide context, and for their time, commentarial works of this kind were sufficiently scholarly and conventional guides to statecraft and leadership. This chapter's comparative analysis of the Japanese *Heike hyōban* with other texts of the medieval and modern periods from other regions and cultures situates the commentary within the textual category of "mirrors for princes" and the context of interaction between scholars/advisors and rulers.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

The literary scholar Ōtsu Yūichi links the production of the *Heike* and other war tales (*gunki*) in the 1220s to 1230s with the Jōkyū Disturbance (*Jōkyū no ran* 承久の乱, 1221 CE), when Retired Emperor Go-Toba was exiled by the Hōjō regents of the Kamakura shogunate who became the de facto rulers. The social groups who lost, nobles and monks, sought to comprehend and explain the changes by historical retrospection, and they wrote works that trace the early period of the warrior age (the *Hōgen monogatari*), the rise of the Heike (the *Heiji monogatari*), the fall of the Heike (the *Heike*), and the events of the Jōkyū Disturbance leading to the dominant position of the Hōjō warrior family (the *Jōkyū monogatari*).⁵⁹⁸ These works are texts about events involving warriors, written from the perspective of courtly and Buddhist authors. Subsequently, the *Heike* greatly influenced popular literary works and performance and other arts by providing themes, characters, and episodes that constituted the “world” (*sekai* 世界) of the Genpei events of the late twelfth century.

In the late medieval and early modern periods, numerous creative works used and expanded this “world” that came to be widely known among all social groups. In parallel to the *Heike*’s reception as entertainment, Edo-period scholars read and studied it as a historical work, using it as a source for compiling official histories and scholarly commentaries. In the Meiji period, around 1890, positivist historians pointed out mistakes, discrepancies, and fictional elements in the *Heike* and the *Taiheiki*, labeling them as useless and unreliable for historical research. Abandoned by academic history, the *Heike* and other *gunki* were categorized as literary works.⁵⁹⁹ Since the 1890s, the *Heike* was included in numerous collections of Japanese classical

⁵⁹⁸ Ōtsu Yūichi, “*Heike monogatari*” *no saitan: tsukurareta kokumin jojishi* (NHK Shuppan, 2013), 14.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 44.

literature. Due to the perception of the medieval period as a “dark age” between the Heian and Edo periods, the *Heike* and other medieval works were not evaluated as highly as other classics. In the early twentieth century, the *Heike* was redefined as a “national epic,” and a part of “national literature.” In the 1930s to 1940s, it was seen as an expression of the warrior spirit and a work of warrior literature, and in the postwar period it became a story of warriors who opposed Heian elites as leaders of the democratic movement and historical progress. Currently in Japan, the *Heike* is studied mostly by literary scholars, although historians, intellectual historians, and scholars of art and performing arts also research the work’s many variants and its multifaceted reception history.

This dissertation has examined the topics of statecraft-related intellectual history, didactic literature, and commentarial tradition, as well as the reception of medieval works in premodern Japan, by exploring the commentaries on the *Heike* aimed at Edo-period warrior-officials of different levels. The *Heike* reception history is complex and varied, and in the preceding chapters I have discussed one of its facets that has remained understudied: didactic commentaries on leadership and statecraft created by military studies scholars in the early Edo period. The importance of these commentaries lies both in their content and didactic function, and in the context of their production and circulation. They demonstrate that the *Heike* was used for the creation of didactic guides for rulers and warrior-officials. In the Edo period, the *Heike* was not only used for entertainment purposes or historical compilations, but it also served as the basis for didactic guides to governance, that is, *gunsho* texts for warrior rulers.

Overall, the discussion in preceding chapters has shown how and why the *Heike* was appropriated by scholars of military studies, what kind of content was grafted onto the original text to create a didactic commentary, who read it and where it circulated throughout the Edo

period, and what place it occupies within premodern Japanese critical scholarship and within didactic literature on governance from across the world. The main conclusions of this research are summarized as follows:

- 1) The dissertation demonstrates the direct involvement of military studies scholars in the reception of the *Heike* and similar medieval texts. Their commentarial activities pulled the *Heike* into the category of “military texts” (*gunsho*) for cultivation of warrior-officials. I have sketched the general traits, approaches, ideas, and content of military studies as practiced in the medieval and early modern periods. This field of knowledge with a vast corpus of texts, neglected in modern research, was a major component in the education and scholarship of warrior-officials throughout the Edo period.
- 2) The interaction of warrior (often *rōnin*) scholars and high-level warrior lords, in the context of a daimyo salon or a master-disciple relation, was the background for production of *gunsho* texts, including didactic commentaries. Readings, lectures, and discussions were an integral part of the education of daimyo patrons and local warrior-officials.
- 3) Admonition of one’s superiors and the critical discussion of history for practical, didactic purposes were woven together in the form of evaluative commentaries (*hyōban*) that functioned as guides to statecraft, leadership, and ethics. The *hyōban* commentaries on medieval texts, such as the *Heike*, re-evaluated their content, seeking to bridge the gap between the courtly and Buddhist worldview of the original text, and the military studies one expounded by commentators of the Edo period.
- 4) The *Heike hyōban* consists of evaluations (*hyō*) of governance and ethics, as well as plausible legends and “secrets” (*den*), and employs diverse commentarial techniques and approaches to create “another *Heike*.” It functions as a treatise that complements the medieval *Heike*, rendering

it relevant and practically useful for Edo-period warrior-officials. Treating the *Heike* as a cautionary tale for rulers, the *Heike hyōban* uses its episodes and characters to explain proper statecraft and ethics. Didactic emphasis outweighs historical inaccuracies and fictional elements.

5) The *Heike hyōban* contrasts the wisdom and virtue of the ancient sages (from Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto traditions) with the Latter Age, which is used synonymously with a period of weak rule and disorder. This idealistic dichotomy allows the commentator to point out mistakes in the actions and behavior of most characters, and to explain correct leadership, human qualities, and attitudes. This stance enables the critic to teach about the time-tested, universal principles of leadership, applicable to any state or family.

6) The overview of the *Heike hyōban*'s reception shows that it was known throughout the Edo period and that, despite the work's printing, its readership remained limited to warrior-officials. The *Heike hyōban* also became the object of criticism and scholarly discussion in the form of the *Heike karui* commentary. Circulation of the *Heike hyōban* centres on institutions and sites related to daimyo lords and other elites, domain schools and lending libraries for warrior-officials, and family archives of village headmen.

7) Comparison of the *Heike hyōban* with other premodern Japanese texts containing historical discussions and admonitions suggests that the commentary's approaches and content had precedents, and were part of existing scholarly practice and the larger discourse that spanned the entire premodern period. In the early Edo period, military studies scholars applied earlier discourse of admonition, historical criticism, and didactic discussion to the content of the medieval *Heike*, producing the *Heike hyōban*—a *gunsho* text intended for the cultivation of warrior-officials.

8) Analysis of the *Heike hyōban*'s features, content, and intended use suggests that the commentary and other *gunsho* works resemble “mirrors for princes” in premodern European and Near Eastern cultures that mix idealism and criticism, statecraft and ethics, examples from the distant past, and anxiety about the future.

This dissertation brings attention to the understudied commentaries and other texts belonging to the military studies field of education and scholarship that shaped perceptions of state, society, leadership, and the identity of warrior-officials in the Edo period. The discussion and analysis presented in this research relies on and introduces numerous primary and secondary sources related to premodern Japanese intellectual history and the reception of the *Heike*. Many passages from primary sources, including those available only in cursive form such as the *Heike karui*, are translated into English for the first time. I highlight the scholarly and didactic reception of the *Heike* in the Edo period that tends to be marginalized by the focus of most modern studies on *Heike*-related popular literature and performing arts. In addition to examining the *Heike*'s reception, I also consider the reception of the *Heike hyōban* commentary in the Edo period and modern research. Finally, I do not take up the *Heike hyōban* as an isolated phenomenon, but compare it with didactic commentaries on statecraft found elsewhere in the world, and tentatively suggest that the *Heike hyōban* and similar texts resemble “mirrors for princes.”

Since military studies is a relatively unknown field compared to Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shinto, for example, I found it necessary to explain in some detail its importance, content, history, and practices. Nevertheless, the topic requires further study, and many *gunsho* texts, both manuscripts and printed works, need to be examined. Differences between schools and their policies on the transmission of texts have to be clarified in order to understand which

texts were published, which were kept secret, and how lecture notes (*kikigaki*) were made and kept. Comparison with other fields of knowledge with secret transmissions (*hiden*), such as poetry, medicine, gardening, music, divination, or flower arrangement, may help us understand how knowledge was managed in the Edo period. Discussion of military studies in premodern East Asia, not limited to ancient China, may be a fruitful area for exploration.

This study is limited to the *Heike*, but many other texts such as the *Taiheiki* or the *Gikeiki* were used for didactic purposes, too.⁶⁰⁰ Although I selected representative passages from the *Heike hyōban* and the *Heike karui*, the excerpts given in this dissertation are a small part of these multivolume works and additional research is needed to consider other parts. Analysis of the readership and circulation of the *Heike hyōban* is far from comprehensive, and further exploration of primary sources, domain school libraries, and family archives may reveal new groups of readers who came into contact with *gunsho* commentaries. The influence of *gunsho* texts on other genres, such as *jōruri* and *kabuki* performance arts or *yomihon* literature, appears to be a potential direction for research.

Another step would be to consider in greater detail the education in domain schools (*hankō*) and private schools, especially their approaches to topics related to leadership and statecraft, the texts used in the process of education, and the application of acquired skills in practice. I have suggested a link between group discussions (*kaidoku*) and *hyōban* commentaries,

⁶⁰⁰ Vijayanthi R. Selinger notes that in the Edo period, the *Genpei jōsuiki* was treated as a history of origins of warrior order, a collection of histories of “warrior houses,” and an instructional manual on warrior customs. In addition, it was also seen as a political textbook:

The reception history of the *Genpei jōsuiki* in the Tokugawa period also indicates that it was regarded as a text describing the “way of government” (*seidō*). More detailed than other [*Heike*] variants in its account of tensions between court and shogunate, and perhaps the most incisive in its criticism of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa as an unfit ruler, the *Genpei jōsuiki* provided a picture of a harmonious political order, overseen by warrior power, which was beneficial to Tokugawa shoguns. Instead of treating events as discrete, the text universalizes them to draw broad historical lessons about the correct “way of government.”

Vijayanthi R. Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate: Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 23.

but further investigation is necessary in order to understand to what extent these discussions and commentaries were similar to policy discussion, advice, admonition, and other types of communication between daimyo lords and retainers, or between officials of different levels. Village headmen likely used didactic commentaries on leadership as part of family education, but it remains unclear what other potential functions they could have had in headmen's interactions with superiors and villagers, for example.

The suggestion that Japanese *hyōban* commentaries and *gunsho* texts are equivalent to European and Near Eastern “mirrors for princes” opens many possibilities for comparative research. In order to understand the depth of this similarity, many topics have to be researched: the nature of the relations between rulers and scholars/advisors, the selection of advisors, the effect of these treatises and lectures on actual governance and decision-making, the circle of people who studied these texts, the place of these texts in the overall curriculum of rulers and officials, the process of making these texts public, and much more.

“Mirrors for princes,” and works of “wisdom/advice literature” in general, have been studied, valued, and transmitted in different cultures across the world. Japanese texts with equivalent functions need to be examined in order to know more about the ideals, anxieties, and educational backgrounds of people in charge of the state, province, village, or family in premodern Japan. I hope this dissertation will promote future research on the reception of the *Heike* and other medieval texts, commentaries and treatises on leadership, and premodern Japanese didactic literature.

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Appendices

Appendix A Curriculum and Transmission Format of Military Studies Schools

The Kōshū-ryū School

The founder of the Kōshū-ryū school, Obata Kagenori, was from the family of Takeda Shingen's retainers who, after his defeat in 1582, scattered becoming *rōnin* or entering the service of other families. Kagenori was a *rōnin* for about twenty years, studying military ways, martial arts, and Confucianism and Zen Buddhism, and also teaching swordsmanship and military divination in the late sixteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, he fought in the Sekigahara battle in 1600 and the Osaka siege of 1615, becoming a Tokugawa family retainer. Over next fifty years, he established the Kōshū-ryū school, which had bakufu support, and also promoted military studies as a scholarly discipline.⁶⁰¹

Kagenori's thought was based on his research on Takeda Shingen's techniques. He also studied ancient Chinese military classics. Planning and schemes were the core of his teaching, and he devoted much attention to castles and fortifications. The most secret part of his teachings was divination techniques still efficacious in the Edo period as a way to manipulate people using their fear of natural phenomena.⁶⁰²

Kagenori's numerous disciples, who numbered more than two thousand, included daimyo lords from many domains and powerful vassals of the bakufu. Scholars of later Kōshū-ryū taught using Kagenori's texts and lecture materials, and also added new texts and concepts, modifying

⁶⁰¹ Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 1, 205-211.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 272-282.

the original teachings. Each lineage positioned itself as the main true lineage and highlighted its special qualities.⁶⁰³

Different transmission lineages had three or more stages of initiation with licenses or certificates given after the completion of each stage: basic, secret, and full. The transmission process had a commercial aspect, since disciples paid for lectures. The most secret part was the divination content. For example, transmission in the Kanazawa domain was centred on person-to-person instruction, and disciples were not allowed to take notes. The biography of Kanazawa warrior and military studies scholar Arisawa Nagasada 有沢永貞 (1639-1715) shows the length of the education process: in 1657, at the age of eighteen, he became a disciple of his uncle, military studies scholar Sekiya Masaharu 関屋政春 (1615-1686), and got license for passing the first and second stages; at the age of nineteen he passed the third stage. In 1659, at the age of twenty, he also studied the Hōjō-ryū texts. At the age of twenty-two, he studied the higher-level secret part of the Kōshū-ryū and got a license. The following year, he also studied under Yamaga Sokō. Later in 1683, at the age of forty-four, he got the Hōjō-ryū license. In 1686, at the age of forty-seven, he received full transmission of the Kōshū-ryū and was initiated into all its mysteries. In 1690, he also studied the medieval divination text *Kin'etsushū*, and in 1695 he also studied a Hōjō-ryū text. Thus, Arisawa Nagasada studied Kōshū-ryū as follows: basic stage from eighteen to twenty, getting his first license (*menkyojō* 免許状); then higher-level stage at twenty-two, getting the advanced license (*denfujō* 伝附状); and finally getting full initiation (*inkajō* 印可状) at the age of forty-seven.⁶⁰⁴ In this case, a military studies scholar continued to study the Kōshū-ryū as his main school, adding Hōjō-ryū and Yamaga-ryū teachings, too. Military studies

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 295-299.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 322-324.

scholarship was a lifelong process in this case. Arisawa Nagasada wrote many military studies texts, including commentaries on the *Kōyō gunkan*, and numerous warriors of the Kanazawa domain were his disciples.

The Hōjō-ryū School

Hōjō Ujinaga's preface to *Shikan yōhō* 士鑑用法 (1646) proclaims military studies as the protection of the state and the Great Way of the state. Ujinaga states that the text should not be given at random to those whose intention to study military studies is not firm, and the school's teachings should not be discussed with those who lack true intention to study military studies. A lecturer should not teach more than ten sections each day and should not add his own views to the master's teachings. This strict and serious attitude was also evident in the transmission ceremony, the format of which was probably established by later teachers: the master and his disciples, wearing ceremonial clothing, would sit before the image of Ujinaga and bow; then the master would read the rules of transmission and a new disciple's name would be written on a piece of paper with an oath, which was then offered to Ujinaga's image; and finally, sacred sake and three specific snacks were consumed.⁶⁰⁵

Studying the main text consisted of readings, lectures, and note-taking by disciples, who later lectured back to the teacher. Before transmission of secret texts, disciples had to fast and purify themselves for one to three days, and then a solemn ceremony was set up in the teacher's house.⁶⁰⁶ In some cases, teachers gave disciples a printed version of the main text with a

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 429-430.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 434.

teacher's signature or stamp.⁶⁰⁷ Later teachers also added their own texts to the core ones written by Ujinaga.

The Yamaga-ryū School

Similar to other schools, the Yamaga-ryū had a system of certificates given after a series of lectures. There was an oath document that banned violation of master's teachings, prohibited showing and telling others about teachings, and threatened divine punishment for those who break the oath. Common warrior-officials also had to promise that in case of their death, their relatives would return the texts to the master's family, or burn them.⁶⁰⁸

The format of ceremonies for new disciples was formally conducted at the master's house and involved purification, formal dress, and an oath done in the early morning followed by a feast and gift-giving to the master. The room had to have writing utensils, paper, a tray, and swords. In cases when the disciple was a lord or high-rank warrior, the ceremony took place in their residence and master went there. In general, the teachings were transmitted only to lords and high-rank warriors, and there was a ban on transmitting the teachings to common warriors, doctors, monks, townsmen, peasants, itinerant people, and others. For secret transmissions, there was a different ceremony, which was more formal and strict. It involved three days of purification before the ceremony and the wearing of ceremonial robes by the teacher and his disciples, followed by another purification. The writing of one's name, a celebration, and gift-giving to the teacher were done, too. Interestingly, the old Kōshū-ryū school's esoteric content, the Great Star transmission (*ōboshiden* 大星伝), based on astronomical divination, was maintained as part of the Yamaga-ryū school's secret teachings until the mid-nineteenth century,

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 406.

⁶⁰⁸ Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 2, 100.

as seen from extant certificates that cover the time period from 1678 to 1858. Yamaga Sokō's own philosophy was also part of the secret teachings.⁶⁰⁹

The Echigo-ryū School

The school was established in the late medieval and early Edo periods, and centres on the figure and teachings of Uesugi Kenshin. Its members claimed that the school's origins lie in the age of the gods. One of the legendary transmission lines went back to Emperor Jinmu, with later transmissions to Yamato Takeru, then to Empress Jingū's military retainer, Takenouchi no sukune 武内宿禰 (84-367 CE), then to the Heike clan in the ninth century, with later transmission to Uesugi Kenshin's family, who were seen as descendants of the Heike.⁶¹⁰ The Echigo-ryū school's thought is strongly influenced by Buddhist concepts: preparation for emergency, a calm and resigned attitude to fate, no fear, and clear action.⁶¹¹ According to the overall philosophy of the school, Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, and medicine are valued as ways to sustain the state. Unlike the Kōshū-ryū school's focus on plots and schemes, the Echigo-ryū prohibits deception and schemes, stating that they do not eventually lead to gain, and harm one's own side. The Echigo-ryū also emphasizes military rules and organization, the ability to perceive one's opponent's plans, and bravery. In general, it is political thinking that attaches great importance to morality, and a general's wisdom and qualities.⁶¹² As in many other schools, there is a noticeable shift to Shinto-influenced thinking, which gradually became a dominant element in Edo-period military studies.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 100-107.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 115-116.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 150-151.

⁶¹² Ibid., 152-154.

The transmission format involved a ceremony for new disciples who had to be introduced, wore formal dress, and had to give the oath document sealed with blood to the teacher. The oath prohibited showing and telling others about the school's teachings, and required disciples or their relatives to return or burn texts in the case of death or joining a different school. The ceremony also involved the payment of fees to the teacher, the reception of texts, and listening to a lecture or talk. The ceremony was different for common warriors and for high-level ones, but in both cases it was conducted in a formal and solemn atmosphere.⁶¹³ Transmitted texts consisted of the main text and several kinds of additional teachings for higher-level disciples. The disciple who studied all texts became the next teacher. The school's transmission continued to the mid-nineteenth century with the addition of new texts and changes in the curriculum.

The Naganuma-ryū School

This school, established in the mid-seventeenth century, was influenced by the Chinese military classics and new texts of the Ming period. Its thinking emphasized the civil and martial, and saw the goal of warriors as stopping disorder and maintaining social harmony. The main focus of this school was on troop training and drills, with some discussion on heart/mind training.

The transmission involved lectures, and disciples had to lecture back to the teacher for several days each month. In the late eighteenth century, this school's teaching was integrated into domain schools in Aizu and other regions. Disciples had to study basic literacy from the age of eleven, military techniques from the age of fourteen, and military studies from the age of seventeen. For officials in high offices, military studies was a life-long activity and they had to

⁶¹³ Ibid., 173.

attend lectures and lecture back once or twice a month.⁶¹⁴ Top military leaders had access to secret teachings found in separate texts.

The Genke kohō 源家古法 School (Old Ways of the Minamoto Family)

In the treatise *Shinburon* 真武論 (1858), all kinds of military studies schools spread around Japan are classified into “three teachings” by content, and into “four types” by the school’s origins. The “four types” are: 1) imperial ways (*ōhō* 王法) allegedly going back to Emperor Jinmu and transmitted by emperors; 2) the generals’ ways (*shōhō* 将法) transmitted by the Minamoto clan from Minamoto no Tsunemoto (?-961 CE), Minamoto no Yoriyoshi (988-1075 CE), and Minamoto no Yoshiie (1039-1106 CE); to three Kamakura shoguns, to fifteen Ashikaga shoguns, and then to the Tokugawa shoguns; 3) family ways (*kahō* 家法), created in families of famous generals such as the Takeda and the Uesugi; 4) private transmissions (*shiryū* 私流), such as teachings by individual scholars including Yamaga, Hōjō, Naganuma, and others. In addition, there are many branch schools that often mix teachings of the “four types” such as the Nagi (or Namiki) 南木流 school, centred on Kusunoki no Masashige, Hōgan-ryū 判官流 related to Minamoto no Yoshitsune, Taishi-ryū 太子流 related to prince Shōtoku, and others. In this list, one also finds Hyōban-ryū 評判流, which was likely based on *hyōban* commentaries.⁶¹⁵

Seeing the goal of military studies in reminding peacetime warrior-officials about disorder, the school of Genke kohō defines the “three teachings” as follows: 1) “warrior teachings” (*bugaku* 武学)—peacetime cultivation and training of warriors that makes them different from farmers, artisans, and merchants; and a combination of the civil and martial,

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 258-260.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 334-335.

statecraft, ethics and discipline; 2) “battle teachings” (*gungaku* 軍学)—practical teachings about castle construction, attack and defence of castles, fighting in mountains and near rivers and sea, and use of plots and deception; 3) “strategy teachings” (*heigaku* 兵学)—the way of victory not expressed in words, but transmitted from one heart/mind to another.

In this school, the *heigaku* is considered the top teaching, built on the first two. The need for all three components was explained using a medical metaphor: *bugaku* is medical drugs, *gungaku* is preparation of medicine, and *heigaku* is a good doctor. To cure an illness and prevent death, a good doctor needs to have drugs and must know how to prepare and apply them. Similarly, to prevent social disorder and pacify society, rulers and warrior-officials need to study the “three teachings.”⁶¹⁶

Many military studies schools divided their curriculum into three stages, such as basic (*yurushi* 許), intermediate (*inka* 印可), advanced (*yuiju ichinin* 唯授一人), or certificate (*menjō* 免状), license (*injō* 印状), and full mastery of secrets (*ōhi kaiden* 奥秘皆伝). Usually, it took a disciple two-three years to pass the first stage, several years more to pass the second stage, and an additional several years to pass the third stage. Usually, to master one school completely, one had to study for at least ten to twelve years.

In the Genke kohō school, too, there were several stages. Ishioka gives an example of a person who began his studies in 1782 at the age of fifteen, got his first certificate in 1790 at twenty-three, received his second certificate in 1805 at thirty-eight, and finally reached full mastery in 1810 at the age of forty-three. In this case, it took twenty-eight years to pass all the

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 335-337. Ishioka notes that this school is almost unique in clearly defining these terms and using them to describe the stages in education tied with specific texts. Most schools use all these terms as synonyms.

stages.⁶¹⁷ Ishioka notes that one's progress was not based only on the amount of texts read, but also on the training of his heart/mind. Training was difficult, transmission was limited to warriors with firm commitment, and very few people reached full mastery. For example, according to a document of 1834, full transmission of Genke kohō texts comprised 319 volumes and it took the disciple forty-one years to reach full mastery. Instead of studying the entire curriculum, however, many disciples studied separate parts in accordance with his own talents, abilities, and circumstances.⁶¹⁸

There were three levels of study, as specified in a document of 1826, which give detailed criteria for assessing a learner's capacity and competence: the "high," the "middle," and the "low." Disciples of the "high" level were proficient in Genke kohō teachings; knew about marches, camps, attack and defence of castles; were well-versed in Japanese and Chinese military texts and histories; were knowledgeable about the rise and fall of states; knew about old customs and the production of weapons; studied martial arts such as archery, horsemanship, swordsmanship and spear techniques; had an honest and simple character; were enthusiastic about studying; and were able to discern disorder in advance. "Middle" level disciples were proficient in Genke kohō teachings; knew about marches, camps, attack and defence of castles; were not very thorough in Japanese and Chinese military texts and histories, and not quite skilled in old customs and production of weapons; and lacked skills in one of the four martial arts, but were still enthusiastic about studying military studies. Disciples of the "low" level had basic, general knowledge of military teachings, and lacked skills in two martial arts out of four, but still had the enthusiasm to study military studies. The "high" level corresponded to the second stage

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 349-350.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 351-356.

or full mastery, the “middle” was between the first and second stage, and the “low” was close to the basic first stage.⁶¹⁹

The Gōden-ryū 合伝流 School (Combined Transmissions School)

This school with origins in the seventeenth century flourished only in the Satsuma domain. At the age of eighteen, Tokuda Yūkō 徳田邕興 (1738-1804) studied the Kōshū-ryū, which was the dominant school in the domain, but since his family was poor, he was behind other disciples and left the school. In 1759, he went to Edo and studied the Gōden-ryū in 1761. He criticized the Kōshū-ryū as the school of the Takeda family who failed and lost control of their state. His conflict with local Kōshū-ryū scholars led to his exile to an island in 1776. He was allowed to return in 1787 and died in 1804.⁶²⁰ Tokuda’s teachings were influenced by the *Seven Military Classics*. To raise his school’s importance, he criticized the Kōshū-ryū, Hōjō-ryū, and Yamaga-ryū as false schools that teach mere “playing with dolls” (*ningyō asobi* 人形遊び), useless for state defence. He also criticized their transmission format with multiple stages that favour rich and noble disciples, and hinder study for poor and low-level ones: as a result, wise warrior-officials are not promoted, and the schools are used for commercial gain.⁶²¹ The Gōden-ryū school was active in Satsuma since the 1780s.

The school’s curriculum emphasized the *Seven Military Classics*, use of firearms, fortifications, and qualities such as bravery and wisdom. Transmission had three stages that involved repeated lectures with debate among disciples. Some parts were taught in person and lecture notes were kept only in the teacher’s family. The entire course took 204 days. Some

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 357-359.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 365-370.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 377-382.

disciples of this school were active during the Meiji Restoration, such as Ijichi Shōji 伊地知正治 (1828-1886), who took part in the Satsuma domain's military reform, was close to Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1827-1877), and served as advisor during several campaigns.⁶²²

⁶²² Ibid., 389-394.

Appendix B Passages from the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*

Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō 平家物語評判秘伝抄 (1650)

Comment on the *Tale of the Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”

Tadamori explained the matter of his retainer Iesada saying: “I did not know at all that the retainer was waiting upon me in the small court. However, the retainer serving me for years had heard that there was some meaning in recent rumours about a plot, and in order to save me from that shame he waited upon me without letting me know and I could do nothing about it.”

Evaluation says: Saying that it is only the retainer’s mistake, even if this were true, is not being grateful to Iesada. It amounts to not being benevolent. However, since this transgression does not lead to death penalty, he probably said so thinking to resolve this trivial trouble. Also, although Tadamori did not know about the plot of the nobles, he said that even his retainer already heard about it. Is it a plot made known to others? In that case, why did not Iesada let Tadamori know about such a matter? Tadamori’s saying that he did not know anything does not make much sense. In this matter, however, it is hard to determine his motive. Looking at it based only on the original text [the *Heike*], Iesada should have been indignant at [Tadamori’s] thinking little of his loyalty. Thus, hearing of disputes in the world should not be done by rather unworthy mediocre people. Even if there is no partiality in his mind, when the magistrate is not wise, each side feels that it is [right] and will not follow his order. During hearing of disputes, if both sides do not accept that they made a mistake, disputes in the world will not cease. It is all the more so when a magistrate hears a dispute when his mind tilts toward gain and is very partial: nothing at all will be according to reason. Therefore, select and seek able people and appoint them to these posts! Somebody asked: In the past, during the Age of the Sages, how did they appoint people as magistrates? Reply: In the Age of the Sages, the posts of magistrates were given by simply selecting people and appointing them. Question: What kind of people should be employed? Reply: This is more difficult to explain. In any case, if one does not know people, one cannot select them. First of all, the person who should know them has to be knowledgeable. Being ignorant, how can one know people? Thus, in the Latter Age, those who accord with a person’s mind are considered good, and those who act contrary to a person’s mind are considered bad. If so, then how can that person know other people? Moreover, in the Latter Age, those who are greatly praised by common people of the world are raised and considered good. Those who are criticized by common people of the world are considered bad and are not appointed. For this reason, those who have many supporters advance, and those with few supporters do not. Thus, people of the Latter Age only deceive ears and eyes of their friends, completely fall into flattery, and depending on their praise and criticism one ends up being good and bad. This is because it is common that evil people certainly dislike good ones. Thus, when there is not a person who knows people, it is difficult to choose. Thus, in the age of the Heishi, too, after the death of Shigemori, people with many supporters in the family were appointed to various posts, but those selected were all similar to one another, and there were eventually no excellent wise people in

the government at all. Therefore, disordered behaviour in all matters occurred daily. Thus, in such a period, a truly evil deed, when it accords with a superior's mood, is carried out, and as for something that will truly benefit the state, when it does not conform with a superior's mood, [people] keep silent, pretending not to hear, and do not admonish. Thus, the world reached a state when people only cared about their own fame and gain, never knowing about loyalty. Therefore, when a lord is not knowledgeable and wise, it is difficult for intelligent and wise people to appear. So, how can one reason about appointments unconditionally? Question: When a lord is wise, there is no trouble in government. If he is not wise, but thinks about and strives for peace, can this be achieved? Reply: Yes, but there are many kinds of thinking about peace. When one is concerned about others seizing the state, one keeps suspecting others and also blaming them. Therefore, without discerning between good and bad people, he keeps away suspicious ones and brings close those whom he does not consider suspicious. So, people seek that which will not raise suspicion in the lord's mind, and keep flattering the lord making him arrogant. Thus, arrogance naturally grows in the world, and all the affairs get disordered. In the past, rulers who thought about peace for the sake of gain, were all like this. In some cases, when a ruler naturally feels compassion for the state and thinks how to make it tranquil for everyone, it means in his mind there is much [ability to distinguish between] good and evil. Thus, since the lord is glad when he sees a good person, subordinates also follow the attitude of the superior, and people strive to be good themselves, or seeing someone better than themselves, they want to bring him close to the lord. Thus, people in the world naturally do good, and good people naturally gather near the lord. If at this time good people seek this gathering of good ones, in any time period, one cannot say that there are no people resembling sages. Thus, an ancient person also said: "When there is a horse expert in the world, a fine horse appears. Although there is always a fine horse, there is not always a horse expert." Therefore, the Way of appointing people is first of all in the will of the lord. Do not seek it elsewhere! Question: When a lord felt compassion for the state, liked good people, and obtained them, how did he proceed with giving a post of a magistrate? Reply: If we think about the ancient age of the Sages, when one obtained a [suitable] person, he first of all gave a post and a stipend. The reason is that without a post the person does not have authority, and without authority, the person cannot make use of laws and carry out ceremonies. So, first of all [a lord] should give a post. Next, when the person's stipend is small, retainers serving the magistrate get a small stipend. When one's stipend is small, one is poor, and when one is poor, generally one is not wise and easily tends to be greedy for gain. So, using the authority of the magistrate's post, he feels greed for farmers, merchants, and artisans, and deceiving them by talk of unjust trouble, he wants to take bribes. When he wants to take bribes himself, first he plans to have his [immediate] superior take them, and when that person takes them, he wishes the superior above to take them. Acting in this way, superiors and subordinates are blinded by gain, and when they hear about a lawsuit, first they think about bribes. Thus, they do not solve the matter quickly and in vain postpone it. So, everyone relies on their aim [to take bribes?] and strives intently to use bribes, more and more spreading own injustice and wishing to steal other's justice. So, the rule is finally in confusion, lawsuits in the world become more and

more numerous, and the state's disorder is dangerously close. Thus, first one should give them stipends, and also should assign generous stipends to each of the officials employed as their subordinates. When their stipends have been set high, one should set the laws for these people. When the stipends are set high, but the laws are not set, their arrogance increases, and they are again even more in need. When they are poor, they certainly become greedy again. So, the stipend is set according to service position, and one determines the type of their house, rooms, and dress, and executes without fail those who exceed their share. In addition, those in the world who have taken bribes should be harshly punished in the capital. Thus, magistrates of the ancient age of the Sages, in the first place deeply restrained themselves rather than own retainers, and punished their own retainers rather than people of the world. Thus, their house was governed well and there was no private interest in official matters. When there is no private interest in official matters, laws are upheld well. When laws are upheld, the governance of society is correct, and when the governance is correct, the state is tranquil. Ah, how sad that when it comes to the Latter Age, few people have such comprehension and knowledge, and people with aptitude for greed, people ingenious in eccentricity are considered good people and receive the posts of magistrates. Although the post is low and the stipend is small, putting a person into this service can be considered a favour to him. Thus, much private interest has entered official matters and governance certainly cannot be correct. So, in the age of Takatoki, governor of Sagami in Kamakura,⁶²³ low-level officials and footmen of low rank serving in positions of magistrates only received twenty *koku* of rice. They, however, used this rice to provide for parents and support families. In addition, they wanted to obtain clothing and have tasty food in the morning and evening. Receiving a mere twenty *koku* of rice, how could they pay for all these expenses? Moreover, their residences appeared superior to the houses of officials, and their clothes were similar to those of warriors. Their wives, children, and even brothers were displaying beautiful and colourful dresses, and it was impossible to afford even one-tenth of that based on the twenty *koku* provided by their lord. So, where did they seek the remaining nine-tenths from? All of this could be done only by usurping the law and taking greedily, or else by committing robberies. This, however, is not entirely the work of those low-level officials. It amounts to the ruler of that time enabling them to do it. However, in the past, when Yasutoki of Kamakura⁶²⁴ was in power, since he followed the Great Way, he did not establish laws for all matters, but the world was naturally tranquil and there were few lawsuits. Therefore, everybody, seek the Great Way! When there is the Great Way, the state is long-lasting. So, where is this Great Way? If it could be obtained only by means of writings and volumes of texts, there would be many people knowing it in any time period, but although there are many people here and there who are well-read and erudite, they are as ignorant in the way of morality as uneducated ordinary people. If it [the Great Way] is in spoken expressions, who of those who hear would not know it? When one recites, they do not know, when one tells, they do not know about it. So, where is it? This is why an

⁶²³ Hōjō Takatoki (1303-1333) – the ninth and last Kamakura *shikken* (shogun's regent).

⁶²⁴ Hōjō Yasutoki (1183-1242) – the third Kamakura *shikken*.

ancient sage said: “It is found only in people’s hearts from the beginning, but because they do not have intention to seek it, they cannot know.” Indeed, this teaching is clear! If people do not have intention, what can be accomplished? Therefore, people of the Latter Age, have firm intention, and seek the Great Way!

忠盛の郎等。家貞が事を陳じ申されけるに。先郎従の小庭に伺公の由。全存ぜず候。
但近日人々の相巧るゝ旨。子細有かの由。年来の家人傳承によつて。其恥を助が
為に。忠盛にはしらせずして。参公仕事力及ざる次第也と申されける事
評曰。是家人の誤にのみ申さるゝ事。縦其旨実也と云とも。家貞が為には忝事にあ
らず。是仁心なきに当れり。然どもこの罪死罪に行るゝつみならねば。唯事の無事を
思ひ給ひて。角は宣ふやらん。又諸卿の内々の巧。忠盛は知給はざれども。はや我人
迄聞付たりと。人にしらせんとの策ならんか。然ばそれほどの事。など家貞は忠盛
にはしらせざりけるぞや。是忠盛一向に知らずと宣ふ事。正意ならざる詞多し。然ど
も此段。其心中決しがたし。本書にのみよつて是をみる時は。家貞が心中には。其忠を
軽んぜらるゝ憤有べし。故に世の訟を聞事は。中々不肖の凡夫の成べき事にあら
ず。縦心中に依怙最負なしと云とも。其奉行人。智恵なき時は。其事両様の心中より。
己と感じて。其命に順事有べからず。訟を聞事。其訟ぬるもの共の心中より。
各が誤にふくせざる時は。世の訟やむ事有べからず。ましていはんや利欲に心か
たふき。依怙最負多き奉行人。其心にて訟を聞時は。一ツとして理に当るべからず。
故に能人をえらひ求て。其職を授給へ
或人問曰。古聖代に。奉行職を授ぬる時は。如何いたし候や。答曰。聖代に奉行
職を授る事は。唯其人を択で是にそなふ。問曰。いかやうなる人を用て宜しとせん
や。答云。其事更に説事かたし。如何となれば。人を知事なければ。選事あたはず。
人を知らんと欲せば。先其知べき者明成べし。己闇して。いかんぞ人を知べけんや。
されば末世には。己が心に順人をもつては善人となし。己が心に逆るをもつて悪人
となせり。然らばいかんぞ其人是。人を知べけんや。その上末世に至りぬれば。世の凡
人の。多譽るものをば。是を擧て善人なりとし。世の凡人の誹ところの者をば悪人と
して是を用ず。所以に方人多き者はすゝみ。方人少き者はすゝまず。故末世の人。
其朋友の耳目をのみ偽かざり。悉好言令色に陥。其譽る処の人。其誹処の人に

よつて。善悪有ぬべし。故如何となれば。悪人は必善人を憎事は是。尋常有事にあらずや。故に人を知人なくして。是を扱事叶がたし。されは平氏の世にも。重盛死し給ひてより後は。其家中の方人多き者をもつて。それ／＼の役を司しめたりといへども。撰出したる者。何れも同ごとくなる者にして。更に秀たる賢者。終に世にあらはれざりき。故萬事の作法みだりがはしき事。日々重れり。さればかやうの時代には。正しき邪行たりといへども。上の機嫌に順べき時は進で是を用。正しく天下の益と成べき事をも。上の機嫌に応ぜざる時は。口をつぐみ耳を愚にして是を諫ず。所以に人々。自己の名利をのみつくのひ。嘗て忠義をしらざる世となれり。故君明智なくして。賢智あらはれがたし。然ば人を擧る事。如何一概にして是。説得けんや。問曰。君明智有時は。世の政煩有事なし。明智なしといへども。泰平を存志あらば。其事を得んや。答曰。可也。然といへ共泰平を存ると云に。其品多し。此世をもし人に奪れん事を惜時は。人をのみ疑て而も人をせむ。故に人の善悪を勘ずして。疑者をばとをざけ。心に疑なきのものをば。是を近す。故に世の人。君の心にうたかはれざらん事をはかり。偏に其君を驕らしめて。其機嫌をつくろふ。所以に世に自驕長じて。万事みだれがはし。古利欲の為に泰平をおもふ世の政。皆以かくのごとし。或又君自然と天下を憐。いかんとしてか諸人を安らしめんと思召時は。其君の心に善悪多故也。故善人を見ては君悦給ふが故に。下又上の機嫌に順。人々己が善を求。或己にまされる善人を見ては。其君にちかづけん事をほつす。故に世上自善事を成し。善人自君の左右にむらがる。此時に其群有所の善人をもつて。尋求善人ならば。何の時代と云とも。聖賢に似たる人なしと云事有べからず。されば古人も云る事有。世に伯樂有て。名馬あらはる。名馬は常にあれ共。伯樂は常にあらずと云り。故人を擧る道は。先其君の志に在。更に外より求める事なかれ。問曰。君天下を憐。善人を愛して。善人を得る時。奉行の職を授には。如何其君是をなし給ひけるぞや。答曰。古の聖代を鑑に。其人を得たる時は。先官禄をさづく。故いかんとなれば。官なき時は其人威嚴なし。威嚴なき時は。法制用ずして。礼行るべからず。故に先官を授べし。次に其人禄少き時は。其奉行に付従家人にあたふる禄少し。その禄少なければ。其身貧。其身貧き時は。人なへて

賢^{けん}人^{にん}にあらず。動^{やゝもすれ}は利^{むさぼり}を貪^{しよく}安^{けん}し。故^いに其^{のう}奉行^{しやう}職^{こう}の権威^ををかりて。農人^{のう}商人^{しやう}巧人^{こう}を貪^{むさぼり}。非道^ひの難^{なん}を云^{まどは}惑^{まいない}しては。賄^{をのれまいない}をとらん事をほつす。己^{ほつする}賄^{をのれ}をとらんと欲^{はかり}時は。先^{すでに}己より上なる者にとらしめん事を計^{はかり}。既^{すでに}其^{はかり}者^{すでに}是^{はかり}をとる時は。又^{すでに}其上^{はかり}に是^{すでに}をとらせんとほつす。かくのごとくに成行^{よく}時は。上下^{よく}利欲^{よく}にくらまされ。一事^じの訟^{うつたへ}を聞^{きく}よりして。先^{まいない}賄^{まいない}の事を心^{きう}とせり。故^{きう}に其事^さを急^さに沙汰^させずして。徒^{いたづら}に時日^{のぶ}を延^{のぶ}る。
所以^{このゆへ}に諸人^{しよにん}。其志^しをたよりとして。偏^{ひとへ}に賄^{まいない}をつくし弥^{いよ}己^{をの}が非義^ひを厚^{あつく}して。他人^{たにん}の道理^{だうり}を掠^{かすめ}んとほつす。故^{せい}に政道^{せい}終^{つい}にみだれ。世上^{うつたへ}の訴^うしば／＼多^{おほく}して。天下^{てんか}の乱^{らん}危^{あやうき}に近^{ちか}し。所以^{このゆへ}に先^{ろく}其^{あたへ}禄^{ろく}を与^{あたへ}。其人^{しだがひ}に付^{つとむ}従^{やく}。事^{ふん}を勤^{ろく}る役人^{やく}にも。分^{ぶん}々に其^{ろく}禄^{ろく}を厚^{あつく}すへし。其^{あつく}禄^{あつく}を厚^{あつく}なしぬる時は。又^{ろく}其^{ろく}者^{ろく}の法^{さため}を定^{さため}むべし。禄^{ろく}をあつくして法^{さため}を定^{さため}ざる時は。彼等^{かれら}驕^をを長^をじて。却^{かへつ}て又^{まづし}貧^{ともし}し。乏^{むさぼり}き時は必^{ろく}又^{やく}貪^{おう}。故^をに其^{ろく}禄^{ろく}其^{やく}役^{やく}に応^{おう}して。家室^{かして}衣服^{いふく}の品^{しな}を定^{こゆ}。分^{ちう}を超^{まいない}る者^{まいない}をば。必^{まいない}誅^{まいない}す其^{まいない}外^{まいない}世上^{まいない}の賄^{まいない}をとりたるをば。其^{まいない}都^{まいない}の中^{まいない}において。あらしき罰^{ばつ}を宛^{あて}行^{おこなふ}べし。故^{いにしへせい}に古^{いにしへ}聖代^{せい}の奉行^{しよく}人^{にん}は。我^わ家人^{がけ}よりも。先^{ばつ}わが身^{このゆへ}をふかく禁^{おさまつ}。世上^{このゆへ}の者^{おさまつ}よりも。先^{おさまつ}吾^わ家人^{がけ}を罰^{ばつ}す。所以^{このゆへ}に其^{おさまつ}家^{おさまつ}よく治^{おさまつ}て公事^{こうじ}に私^{わたくし}なし。公事^{こうじ}に私^{わたくし}なき時は。能^{ほう}其^{ほう}法^{ほう}たつ。其^{ほう}法^{ほう}立^{まつり}時は。世^{まつり}の政^{まつり}正^{こと}し。政^{まつり}正^{こと}時は。天下^{たいにか}平^{たいにか}也^{たいにか}。あゝかなしひかな末世^{たいにか}に至^{よく}らば。かやうの心得^{よく}知^{よく}人^{よく}まれにして。利欲^{よく}に才^{さい}覚^{かく}して。ものずき巧^{たくみ}なる人^{たくみ}をよきものと心得^{しよく}。其^{しよく}奉行^{しよく}職^{さづけ}を授^{ひきく}。其^{ひきく}官^{ひきく}卑^{ひきく}して其^{ひきく}禄^{ひきく}少^{すくな}けれ共^{やく}。其^{そなふ}役^{そなふ}に備^{そなふ}る事^{そなふ}をもつて。其^{をん}者^{をん}に恩^{をん}と成^なすべし。然^くば公事^くに私^{わたくし}多^{わたくし}して。其^{まつり}政^{まつり}必^{たゞし}正^{たゞし}かるべからずされば鎌倉^{かまくら}の相模^{さがみ}守高^{しよく}時の世^{しよく}には。奉行^{しよく}職^{しよく}につかふる所^{ざつ}の雑^{ざつ}色^{ざつ}。足^{あし}輕^{がる}どもに。漸^{やうやく}米^{あてを}貳拾^を石^をを宛^{かかれら}行^{かかれら}。然^{おや}るに彼等^{やしな}。其^{ひさいし}米^{ひさいし}をもつて親^{おや}を養^{やしな}。妻子^しを育^ひ。加^{しか}之^{のみ}衣服^なをとゝのへ。朝夕^{あじは}の食^もにも味^{もとめ}を求^すと欲^す。然^すば米^す貳拾^す石^すをもつて。如何^{いかに}ぞ是^{いかに}を。不足^{ふそく}ながらもつくなふ事^うを得^うべけんや。加^{かかれら}之^{かかれら}彼等^{かかれら}が有^{しつ}様^{しつ}。其^{しつ}家室^{しつ}をみれば士^{さふらひ}の家居^{さふらひ}にはまさり。其^{いふく}衣服^{いふく}をみれば武^ふの衣服^ふに等^{ひと}しく。妻子^{さい}兄弟^{けいてい}に至^ひる迄^ひ美^び々^{かう}好^{かう}色^{かう}をかざる時は。上^{しよく}より給^{たまはる}処^{たまはる}の貳拾^た石^たは。十分^{のこ}の一^{のこ}つにも足^たるべからず。然^{のこ}らば残^{のこ}る九^{のこ}分^{のこ}をば何^{いつ}れの所^{ところ}より是^もを求^{もとめ}んや。是^も皆^も。法^はをかすめ。むさぼりとらずんば。外^{べつ}又^{がうとう}別^{べつ}には剛盜^{がうとう}をなすより他^たなかるべし。是^{しかし}併^{ながら}。皆^{かの}彼^{かの}雑色^{ざつ}のなす所^{かみ}にあらす。時^{かみ}の上^{かみ}より是^{ひとし}をなさしむるに等^{いにしへ}し。然^{やす}ども古^{まつり}鎌倉^{まつり}の泰^{まつり}時^{まつり}政^{まつり}を執^{とり}行^を給^をひける時は。大道^{だうだう}を心^{ねと}根^{はん}なし給^{せい}ひける故^{せい}。万^{ばん}事^じ制^じ法^{ねん}を出^{しづか}さずといへども。世上^{うつたへ}自然^{うつたへ}と静^{うつたへ}にして。世^{うつたへ}の訟^{うつたへ}

も少^{すくな}かりき。故に人々大道を求^{もとめ}おはしませ。大道と云事^{あつ}有て。天下^こ国家^か長久なる事有。されば此道いづれの処にかあらん。文字書^{もんじ}卷^{くわん}によつてのみ得^{うる}者ならば。いづれの時と云とも是を知もの多かるべし。然に爰^{こゝ}にも物よみ。かしこにも廣^{くはう}学^{がく}也と云人多^{おほ}けれ共。人倫^{りん}の道に暗^{くら}事は。無^{がく}学^{ぼん}の凡人に同じ。又言^{ごん}句^くに在^{いは}と云ば。聞^{たれ}ほどの人孰か是をしらざるべき。誦^{よめ}ども知らず語^{かた}れども知らず。然ば是^{いつれ}何の処にあらんや。されば古^{いにしへ}の聖^{せい}人^{のたまひ}宣^{たづ}けるは。唯人々の心中に。元来備^{もとよりそなは}り有ものなれ共。是を尋^{たづね}る志^{こゝろざし}なきが故に。知^{しる}事あたはずと云^{のたまへ}り。実^{まこと}其教^{をしへ}明^{あきらか}なるかな。人々の志^{こゝろざし}なくしては何事か成事あらんや。所以^{このゆへ}に末世の人々。志を厚^{もとめ}して。是を求^{もとめ}おはしませ⁶²⁵

Comment on the *Tale of the Heike*, Chapter 1:4 “The Rokuhara Boys”

Evaluation says: Although such a matter should not be evaluated, I add the comment for [people of] the Latter Age. Since the Lay Monk [Kiyomori] had many defects, he grew suspicious, thinking that there certainly have to be people in society who deride and criticize him. In general, a suspicious mind arises due to a person thinking about hiding from society those bad things that one has, and thinking that perhaps someone already knows leads to accidental suspicion that certainly harms innocent people, too. An ancient person said: “A suspicious mind, an avaricious mind are the basis of great turmoil.” When a person does not have bad things, even if others criticize, one should not fear anything at all. Suspicion about those below arises entirely because those above distrust [unjustly]. When a small-minded person suspects, he has suspicion in his mind and acts with that mind. When a wise person (*kunshi* 君子) suspects, he has suspicion in his mind and restrains himself. A small-minded person suspects for his own sake, and a wise person suspects for the sake of others. So, due to a single suspicion, a great number of mistakes happen in human interaction. A person should thoroughly understand this Way. In general, usage of people called “observers” in a state arises from the suspicious mind. Usage of observers in the ancient virtuous world was to call them “officers of ears and eyes”⁶²⁶ and disperse them in all directions to inquire about governance of the world. When there was criticism in the world, [the ruler] inspected it and investigated the wrongs in the state. When people had troubles, [the ruler] quickly provided relief. Sending them to inquire especially about the wrongs of provincial lords, [the ruler] wanted to have [observers] investigate [their] faults.⁶²⁷ In the second place, [observers

⁶²⁵ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:2 “The Night Attack in the Palace”).

⁶²⁶ *Jiboku no shi* 耳目の士.

⁶²⁷ Or, “the ruler wanted to have observers investigate his own faults.”

were used] to examine wrong and correct [qualities] of magistrates of various provinces. If magistrates were immersed in bribes and troubled people, [the ruler] quickly inspected that fault. He only used [observers] out of compassion and care for the people of the state. Thus, the world prospered, and the high and the low wished for perpetuity of the state. Kiyomori's use of observers, however, was, first of all, not to let the world talk about his mistakes. Even if it were not stated with words, how would everybody not know it in their minds? Kiyomori's thinking to stop people's talking in the state is like wishing to block an ocean with one's hands. Second, his idea was to inquire about the faults of the [ruled] people in order to harm them. There are good and bad kinds of inquiring about faults of the [ruled] people. The good kind is when one inquires about self-interest and faults of magistrates, deputy governors and others, investigates them and gives compassion and relief to the [ruled] people. However, Kiyomori's idea was to inquire about the people's gains in order to obtain his own gain. When [his] own gain was stolen by the people, they were greatly punished, but when he stole other people's gain there were no investigations. Thus, using observers, on the contrary, became a disaster for the state. The intention of observers of the High Antiquity was to inquire and find out day and night for the sake of society. The intention of Kiyomori's observers was to inquire and find out for Kiyomori's individual avarice and for the observer's mirth. So, the people also tried to hide them [gains]. Since the rulers had the intention to steal gains, the [ruled] people also tried to hide them. For this reason, people's minds became false and crooked, and there were many thieves in society. All of this should be the sign to consider the mind of the rulers as [affecting] the mind of the ruled. Therefore, Sages of the High Antiquity considered the state's "eyes" as one's own, considered the state's "ears" as one's own, and constantly wished to examine themselves. Foolish generals wish to examine the [ruled] people without examining themselves. When one only examines other people's faults without examining faults in one's own mind/heart, one's own faults will increase and result in a mistake. Great Teacher Enō⁶²⁸ said: "Other people's faults are other people's mistakes. One's own faults indeed become mistakes."⁶²⁹ So, it appears that a gentleman seeing other people's faults, examines his own faults. Article Ten of Prince Shōtoku's Constitution⁶³⁰ says: "Give up anger, abandon anger. Do not be angry at others who disagree. All people have a mind/heart, each heart takes [its own attitude]. When others are reasonable, oneself will be wrong. When oneself is reasonable, others will be wrong. Oneself is by no means a sage, and all the others are not fools. Everyone is certainly a common person.

⁶²⁸ Huineng, J. Enō 慧能 (638-713 CE) was one of the most prominent monks in Chan (Zen) Buddhism, also known as the Sixth Patriarch.

⁶²⁹ Most likely a reference to the following passage from Chapter Two "Prajñā (Lecture)" of *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*: "Always see one's own errors, and / Be in accord with the Way. (...) If one sees the errors of others, / One's own errors will rather be augmented. / If one considers others to be in error and not oneself, / One's errors will automatically embody a transgression." John McRae, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: Translated from the Chinese of Zongbao* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000), 35.

⁶³⁰ Also known as the *Seventeen-Article Constitution* (*Jūshichijō kenpō* 十七条憲法) of Prince Shōtoku (574-622 CE), from the year 604 in the Asuka period.

Who can distinguish and determine the principle of being right and wrong?" Therefore, in the Latter Age, those who intend to maintain the state, consider this matter in your mind! When there is someone in the world forming a plot, there is certainly something more important than these observers [?]. An able general devises various schemes, lets the opponent's observers hear about it [plot], and when he deceives the eyes and ears of observers, it is easy to deceive eyes and ears of their lord. So, [observers] are relied upon to cause trouble by hindering relations between loyal and wise retainers, and also causing harm to be done to innocent people. Thus, in military strategy, there are spies and schemers, and from one side it is definitely easy to rely upon them [to cause harm to the other side?]. Therefore, *Sunzi's Art of War* also says: "In matters of state, there is nothing more important than intelligence." And *Saden (Zuo zhuan)* says: "when the rule is insincere, the people despise it. When the people despise, [the ruler reacts] recklessly by means of severe laws. When the laws are severe, the people are certainly harmed." Therefore, carefully perceive this!

Transmission says: The book of *Kiichi's Military Strategy* says: "By hearing an enemy's state of affairs, one knows the good and bad sides of his army." The secret transmission says: "Not pipe, not drum, also not voice. Know the [enemy's] soundless colorless mind/heart!" This is truly a deep matter for consideration.

評曰。かゝる事は評すべき事なしといへ共。末世の為に評を加。是入道の身に僻事多きが故に。定て世上に嘲哂誹者有べきと思ふ疑起れり。惣じて疑の心と云ものは。己が身に悪き事有て。世上に是をかくしをくとおもふが故に。若早知人有かと思ひて。計ざる疑を生じて。科なき者をも害する事有べし。古人曰。疑心欲心は大乱の基と云り。我身に悪き事なき時は。縦人は是を誹事有とも。更に憚事有べからず。下を疑こゝろの起る事は。皆上の僻めるが故也。小人の疑は。疑の心を取立て。其心をもつて事を起す。君子の疑は。疑の心をおこして。吾身の事をとゞむる。小人は身の為に疑。君子は人の為に疑。されば此疑の一つによつて。人間の交にそくばくのあやまち多き物也。ひととして能々此道を極べし。惣じて天下国家に横目の者と云を用る事。是疑の心より発る事也。古徳有世の横目を用たる事は。耳目の士と名付て。方々に分散せしめ。世の政を聞しめ。世上に誹事あれば是を改て。天下の僻事を糺す。民の苦事あれば。はやく是を安からしむ。只偏に国王の御身の僻事をのみ聞出さしめて。身の非を糺しめんと欲し給へり。次には諸国の奉行人の邪正を糺さんが為也。民を苦め奉行人賄にふけらば。早く其罪を改め。偏に天下の人民を憐思召心より。此事を用給へり。故に世上も豊にして。上下天下の長久を願。然に清盛横

目を用たる事は。第一には身の^{ひが}僻事有を。世に云すまじきが^{いは}為也。喩^{たとひことば} 詞に云ずといふとも。^{いかでか} 争 諸人心に是を知らざるべけんや。天下の人の口を。清盛とゞめんとおもふ事は。大海を手にてせかんと^{ほつ}欲するがごとし。第二には。下の^{だい}曲を^{しも}聞出して。下を^{まがり}害せんとおもへり。下の^{しな}まがり^{くはんとう}を聞と云に。善^{しきよく}惡の品有。奉行代官等の私曲を聞出して是を^{たゞ}糺し。下を^{あはれみやすん} 憐 安ずる時は。善^{ぜん}なれども清盛の心は。下の利有事を聞出しては。吾利を得んが^{きか}為に^{わがり}聞しむ。吾利。下にかすむるものあれば。大^{つみ}きに^{をこな}罪を行ふと云ども。^{われしも} 吾下の利を^{かすむる} 掠 事あれども更^{さら}に是を^{たゞさ} 糺 ず。故に^{よこ}横目の者を用るほど。却て天下の^{わざはひ} 禍 となれり。上古の^{よこ}横目の心は。明暮世の^{よこ}為を聞出見出さんと欲す。清盛の^{よこ}横目の心は。清盛一人の^{よく}利欲なるべき事と。又一人の^{こゝろよ} 快 からしめん事を聞出し見出さんと欲す。故に^{しも} 下又是をかくさんとす。上に利を^{ぬすむ} 盗 心有が故に。又下も是をかくさんとす。所以に人の心。^{いつはりまがつ} 偽 曲 て。世上に^{ぬす} 盗人多し。是^{おほ} 皆。上の心をもつて^{しも} 下の心とするしるし成べし。故に上古の^{せい} 聖人は。天下の目をもつて我目となし。天下の^{みみ} 耳をもつて我耳となし。^{とこしなへ} 鎮 に我身を^{たゞ} 糺さんと^ぐ ほつす。愚将は我身を^{たゞ} 糺さずして。下を^{たゞ} 糺さんとす。他人の非をの^{たゞ} み糺して。自心の非を^じ 糺 ざる時は。吾^{わがひいよ} 非 彌 あやまちと成べし。惠能大師 曰 。他人の非は是他人の^{じしん} あやまち。自身の非。却て^{かへつ} 過 となると云り。所以に君子。他人の非を見ては。我^{わが} 非を^{あらため} 改 給ふと見えたり。聖 徳太子憲法之第十曰。怒^{しやうとく} を断。怒^{しのけんぼう} をすて。人の^{だいがふ} 違 を^{いから} 怒 ざれ。人みな心有。心^{をの} 各 とる事有。人道理有時はわが^{ひが} 僻事成べし。我に道理有時は人に^{ひが} 僻事有べし。我必^{せい} 聖人にあらず。人なへて^ぐ 愚人にあらず。共に皆是^{とも} 凡夫たるべし。是非の^ひ 理 は^{ことはり} たれかよく是を^{わか} 分ち^{さだめ} 定 んと云り。故に^{まつ} 末代に至て。天下国家を^{たもち} 持 給はん人。此一事に心をめぐらし^{もし} 給へ。若世に事を^{たくむ} 巧 者有時には。必此^{よこ} 横目と云に先大事有物也。良 将は^{りやう} 様々の^{はかりこと} 策 をめぐらし。彼^{かの} 横目に是を^{きか} 聞しめて。其^{よこ} 横目の^{みみ} 耳と目^じ を^{くらす} くらます時は。その君の耳目を^{やす} 聞 事安し。故に^{ちう} 忠臣^{けん} 賢臣の^{さまたげ} 間を^{とが} 妨 。又科なき人を^{かい} 害せしめて。禍^{わざはひ} の^{たより} 便 となすもの也。故に^{ぐん} 軍法に。間士^{かん} 謀士と云事有。是必此所より其^{たより} 便 を用る事安きもの也。所以に^{このゆへ} 孫子も。天下の事間より^{そん} 大事なる事なしと云り。されば^{でんに} 左 伝 曰。政^{まつりごと} 不実なる時は^{じつ} 民^{たみ} あな^{あなど} だる。民 嫚 する時は。是みだりにけはしき法をもつてす。其法けはしき時は。民^{たみ} 必^{かい} 害せらるゝと云り。故^{かるかゆへにつゝしむで} 謹 而是を^{さと} 了 給へ

てんに かぐんりやく へんに てう しるひ でん くわん
 伝曰。鬼一軍略之篇曰。敵の調子を聞て。軍の善悪を知秘伝には。管にあらず。
 こ をんせい をと おもんばかり
 鼓にあらず。又音声にあらず。音なく色なく心をしれと云り。誠にふかき慮有⁶³¹

Comment on the *Tale of the Heike*, Chapter 5:7 “Mongaku’s Mighty Austerities”

Evaluation says: Rise and fall of the state depends only on the Way being good or evil. It is not the Heike who destroy the Genji, it happens only because the Genji are not following the Way. Also, it is not the Genji who destroy the Heike, it happens only because the Heike are not following the Way. Therefore, the struggle for the state should be done by means of the Way. How can it be done by arbitrary human strength? Thus, people of the Latter Age, do not think that Yoritomo raised a revolt and obtained the state due to Mongaku’s suggestions. Indeed, although Mongaku suggested this and even obtained and brought Retired Emperor’s edict, the destruction of the Heike happened because they did not follow the Way. The Genji obtained the state because they followed the Way. Thus, when one thinks about an outcome, it follows entirely because there is a reason for it [the outcome] which one should understand. Ah, how sad! People of the Latter Age—not only about this matter, but about all the worldly desires—do not understand that there is a reason for getting something. Since they do everything only privileging avarice, on the contrary they often obtain their own loss. Even a slight gain and loss always has its reason. Therefore, consistently avoid admonitions of small-minded people and be attached to wise people!

評曰。天下の盛衰はたゞ道の善悪に寄べし。源氏を滅すものは平家にはあらず。たゞ
 源氏の無道なるが故也。平家を亡すものは又源氏にはあらず。唯是平家の無道なるが
 故成べし。然ば天下を争事道をもつてすべし。何ぞ人力の恣なるべけんや。故に
 末世の人。文覚がすゝめけるによつて。頼朝むほんを起され。天下を持給ふと思ふ事
 なかれ。尤文覚此事をすゝめ給ひ。或は院宣までとりて與給ふと云とも。ほろぶる処
 の平家は無道なるが故也。持処の源氏は有道なるが故也。然ば畢竟を鑑時は。是
 皆知べき其故有によれり。あゝかなしひかな末世の人。是のみにあらず一切の世欲に付。
 其事を得る故有事をしらず。たゞ欲心をのみさきとして万事をなすが故に。却て其身
 の失を得る事多し。一毛一紙の得失といへども。みな是其故なきにしもあらず。故に小

⁶³¹ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 1:4 “The Rokuhara Boys”).

じん いさめ けん もつはら
人の 諫 をふせぎ。賢人をなつくる事を 専 となし給へ。 ⁶³²

Comment on the *Tale of the Heike*, Chapter 5:11 “The Fuji River”

It is not wise that the Heike were scared saying “Ah, what an enormous Genji force!” seeing the Genji’s beacon fires. Since Yoritomo’s defeat at Ishibashiyama, when he escaped to Sugiyama as far as Horiguchi border and hid himself, the only person who followed him was Toi no Jirō Sanehira. Then he was hiding in the Ejitsu lodge in Hakone mountains, but still had no force. After that, by wise planning Yoritomo brought warriors of the Eastern Provinces to his side, but barely one-third of the warriors of the eight Eastern Provinces [joined him]. The recorded number of both high and low men was seven thousand and five hundred. Needless to say, it is foolish that the Heike raised an army without knowing how to inquire about enemy’s real situation and were affected by the light of the fires. This is entirely due to Taira Lay Monk acting improperly for years and being completely neglected by the state’s daimyo lords and both high and low warriors. Without anyone to rely upon who could convey his will to [inform him about?] the Eastern Provinces, he lost contact and thus did not even know the size of the enemy’s force. When the time came, he was in trouble. Look at the Heike and the Genji at this time. Without fighting it is clear who wins and who loses. This is what in divination about outcome of battle is called “rising sun’s victory and setting sun’s defeat.” There are many secret transmissions about this.

Transmission says: They say that Yoritomo sent people to various places between Tōtōmi province and Suruga, and had them say things such as “there are news that all the Eastern Provinces follow the Genji, the number of their people [is enough to] fill mountains and plains, warriors of Kai and Shinano have revolted and will surround the rear of Heishi forces.”

The Heike warriors were defeated after getting scared of the waterbirds rising from the Fuji marshes. It is due to the general’s inability that they were diverted by sound because of confusion of the ears. In general, listening to sounds of things is an important matter in the army. Ears and eyes are used day and night, but during the day eyes are more important and during the night ears are more important. As for listening to sounds, there is listening to Heaven and Earth, and also listening to things. These two are important among sounds and voices. A general must know this. [There is a] secret transmission.

[...] Since the Heike generals did not know how to do battle and faced the enemy without a plan, they lost this battle. If there were a good general, he could foil Yoritomo’s plan. [...] All the Heike generals wanted merely to follow the enemy and did not want to make the enemy follow them. Could one ever obtain advantage in battle [by acting like this]? “The *Military Strategy*

⁶³² *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 9 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:7 “Mongaku’s Mighty Austerities”).

says: ‘One thousand essays, ten thousand sections [all say] compel others, do not be compelled by others.’”⁶³³

源氏の^{かぶり} 簀^{たく} を焼を見て。あなおびたゝしのげんじの勢やとて。平家。おそれしこと智なし。^{より} 頼朝^{ばし} 石橋山の合戦に^{まけ} 打負給ひてより以来。^{このかた} 榎山の内。^{ほり} 堀口の^{へん} 邊まで。^{のかれ} 遁^{しのび} しのび給ひし時。つきしたがふ者は^{とひの} 土肥次郎^{さね} 実平一人也。それより^{はこ} 箱根山^{じつ} 永実が^{しゆく} 宿所を宿房として。^{しのび} 忍まし^し / \ けるといへども。いまだ勢つかず。其後^{より} 頼朝^{りやく} 智略^{とう} 有て。東国の武士を^{かたづけ} 傾^{とう} 給ふといへども。東八ヶ国の武士^{やうやく} 漸^{ぶん} 三分一也。^{しるす} 記所の人数^{しゆ} 上下七千五百と有。是軍を起すに。敵の^{きよじつ} 虚実を^{しら} うかがふ事を^{ひかり} 知ずして。火の^{うごか} 光に心を^ぐ 動しける事。愚と云に足らず。是^た 偏^{ひとへ} に平の入道年来不義を事とし。天下の大名上下の武士に^{はて} うとみ果られしが故に東国へ心を通すべき^{たより} 便^{つういん} なくして。通音をうしなふによつて。敵の多少をも知らず。時至て迷惑するもの也。此時平家と源氏を見よ。^{たゝかは} 戦^ふ ざる所に^{そなはつ} 勝負^{あきらか} 備^{はて} て明也。^{しやう} 勝負の^ぶ 占^{うらかた} に。出る日の勝。入日の負と云事。此所に在。口伝多し。^{より} 伝曰頼朝^{とをとうみの} 遠^{する} 江国と駿河の間に。所々に人を出し。東国はみな源氏に^{したがつ} 随^や て。人数山野^{みち} に^{／＼} 充満。甲斐^か 信濃^ひ の兵ども^の 起^{おこり} て平氏の^{うしろ} 後^さ をかこむべきよし沙汰有など云せられしと云り。^ふ 平氏の兵。^{じぬま} 富士沼の水鳥の^{おどろき} たつに^{はいほく} 驚^を て敗北する事。是大将の不才によつて。音に^と 転ぜ^{てん} らるゝは。^み 耳の^{まとふ} 惑^し 所也。凡軍中にて物の音を聞事大事也。耳目は^じ 昼夜^{ぼく} 用^{ちう} 物也といへども。^{ひる} 昼は目をもつてさきとし。夜は^み 耳をもつて先とす。音を^{きく} 聴^{ちやう} 事天地の^{をんじやう} 聴^{をんじやう} と云事有。又物の聴と云事有。此二つは音^{をんじやう} 声の大事也。大将知らずんばあるべからず。口伝

(...) 平氏大将。師^{いくさ} の法をしらず。敵に向ひ^{はかりこと} 策^{まけ} なきが故に。此軍打負給へり。若良将たらば^{より} 頼朝の^{はかりこと} 謀^{てんず} を^{ほつ} 転^{はつ} べきもの也。(...) 平氏の諸将敵にのみ随事を欲して。敵を^{あに} したがふる事を欲せず。豈戦て利有事を得んや。兵法曰。千^{しやう} 章^く 万^{いた} 句^{いた} 人を致して人に致

⁶³³ Quotation from Book 2 of *Questions and Replies Between Tang Taizong and Li Weigong*: “One thousand essays, ten thousand sections do not go beyond ‘compel others, do not be compelled by them.’” 千章万句、不出乎致人而不致于人而已。See Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, 337.

The original quotation is from Book 6 of *Sunzi's Art of War*: “one who excels at warfare compels men and is not compelled by other men.” 善戦者、致人而不致於人。Ibid., 166.

Comment on the *Tale of the Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”

Evaluation says: [...] At this time there was no such ceremony and custom, and the Fujiwara court nobles also did not attend. Everything ended up like this because of the lord’s lack of virtue. When one seeks the origin of this, it has come from the errors of the First Retired Emperor [Go-Shirakawa]. The present situation developed like this due to him acting only according to his own mood, giving excessive rewards and fiefs to the Heike, and being deprived of the power over the state. [...]

In the time of the Latter Age and the period of evil world, since human hearts are also vicious, monks who transmit Buddha’s Way and build his houses, too, have deep avarice in their hearts. So, they practice the entire Buddhist Law out of avarice. Thus, people who follow and learn, too, imitate the hearts of those monks of the Latter Age, and thinking that the Buddhist Way is like this, they consider the True Law of Buddha to be the evil law. So, since this time already corresponds to the Latter Age and the evil world, monks have entirely lost the original meaning of Buddha, and with hearts of avarice and arrogance, they carry bows, arrows, and sticks, and commit unthinkable evil acts. Because of this, they suffered such a disaster of destruction [i.e., the burning of Nara temples]. Nevertheless, the [Buddhist] Law of the Latter Age should not be despised and abandoned. Metaphorically speaking, when there is no gold, silver is considered a treasure. When there is no silver, copper should be treasured. So, after Buddha entered Nirvana, wooden buddhas should be thought of as [true] buddhas, sutra texts should be considered the True Law, and monks should be seen as the Sangha Jewel [monastic community, one of Three Jewels]. And yet, it is difficult to leave unpunished those fellows who are enemies of the Court. When the Heike have already raised warriors and burned the [Nara] temples, and it was an excessive evil act, if one would select among Nara high priests those who strive on the Buddhist path and have them reside in Nara temples, and if one would exile for a while those priests who were leaders of the remaining foolish monks, then there would not be such a situation at present with, for example, the holding of the Gosai Rite. In general, one of the mistakes of Japan’s Imperial Way is to often mix Buddhist services into festivals at the Retired Emperor’s palace. For this reason, Shintō was naturally abandoned, and now in Japan’s Shintō shrines, too, in all rituals they only use Buddhist sutras, and there are few people who know the original meaning of Shintō. Japan, originally being the land of the gods, established the Imperial Law by means of Shintō. By abandoning it, the Imperial Law naturally loses its authority. So, on all occasions [Buddhists?] chant, and much [of Shintō?] has been lost. It appears that in the High Antiquity there was also such an understanding, but later it [Shintō] has been naturally declining. Thus, Shintō did not become enemy of the Court through arrogance and prosperity, but often the Buddhist Law was very arrogant, and thus became the enemy of the Court, troubling the state. So,

⁶³⁴ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 10 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 5:11 “The Fuji River”).

is it not a sign that there were mistakes [in Buddhism] since the time of High Antiquity? Nevertheless, Buddhist Law now should not be abandoned. Only when examining the original meaning of the Imperial Law will the lord devote himself to the virtue of the sages of the past and raise and select the wise and talented, thinking of all the people as his children, Shintō, which declined a long time ago, will of itself arise and be renewed. The arrogant and disordered Buddhist Way, too, will of itself become the original True Law. Therefore, without examining the outside, examine the lord's [i.e., your own] mind as well as right and wrong [qualities] of close retainers. Thus, Shintō and the Buddhist Way will be in harmony and will become the true Great Way made of two parts. Then, naturally, the Imperial Law will be auspicious, the state calm and whole, and no evil acts similar to those of recent times will be committed within the Buddhist Way. Therefore, think about and know times like these, and discern the signs of disorder and turmoil in the Latter Age!

評曰。 (...) 此時に^{あたつ} 當^{さいれい}て。此祭例もなく。藤氏の公卿も参られざる事は。是皆上^{かみ}の不徳故に。かくは成果ぬるもの也。其源^{みなもと}を尋^{たづね}るに。是一院の御^{あやまり}謬より出たり。機嫌^{きげん}にのみ任^{まかせ}給ひ。平氏に過分の賞^じ禄^{くは}を与^{しやうろく}。天下の権威^{あたへ}を奪^{けんい}れさせ給ふによつて。今かくのごとくに成行もの也。 (...)

末法惡世の時には。人の心もかだましきが故に。彼如来の道をつたへ。其家をたつる所の沙門も。其心中利欲ふかき故に。一切の仏法をもつて。皆利欲の爲となす。故に。随^{したがつ}て学する所の衆生も。其末法の沙門の心をうつして。仏道はかやうなるものぞと思ひ。悉^{ことごとく}仏の正法をもつて。邪法となすもの也。故に此時はや。末法惡世の時にあたりぬれば。沙門悉^{ことごとく}仏の本意を失^い。利欲我慢の心根をもつて。弓箭兵杖^{うしなひ}を帶し。はからぬ惡事をなすが故に。かやうに破滅の難にあへり。さればとて又末世の法を。賤^{いやし}め捨べきにはあらず。譬^{たとへは}黄金のなからん時は。銀をもつて重宝となし。銀なからん時は。銅^{あかざね}をもつて重宝とすべし。故に如来入滅の後には。木仏を如来となし。經文を正法となし。沙門を僧宝となすべし。然ばとて。朝に敵する族^{やから}なれば。徒^{たゞ}に是を^{さしをき}聞^きがたし。既^{すでに}平家軍兵を起し。伽藍を焼^{くは}亡^るしぬる時は。是過分の惡行なれば。南都僧綱の中にて。仏道に^{こゝろざし}志^{あら}ある沙門を選び。其人をもつて南都の住寺と定^{ちう}。残る処の愚僧。其棟梁^{とうりやう}たるべき法師をは。先^し暫^{しばらく}是を遠流せられなば。今御齋会執行せ給ふと云とも。さまでの事有べからず。さうじて日本。王法の^{あやまり}誤^{せんとう}には。仙洞の祭礼に。仏事をまじへ給ふ事多し。故に神道自然に^{すたれ}廢^{いま}て。今日本の神社にも。皆もつて神事には。仏經^{きやう}をの

み^{もちい}用^いて。神道の本意を知人まれ也。それ日本はもと神国にして。神道をもつて王法を
たてたり。然るを捨ぬるが故に。王法自然に其威をうしなへり。故に万事^{ばん}唱^{となへ}うしなふ
事^{おほ}多し。上古^こにはかやうの心得も有とは見えたれども。後々において自然とおとろへ来
る物也。所以に神道^{このゆへ} 僞^{おごりはんじやう} 繁昌^{てう} して。朝敵と成たる事はなけれども只仏法大に 僞^{おごり} を生じ。
朝敵と成て天下を苦しめたる事多し。然は是上古より 誤^{あやまり} 有しるしにあらずや。されば
とて今更又仏法を捨べきにはあらず。唯王法の本意をたゞされ。君先聖の徳を 専^{きみ せい とく もつはら} とし
給ひ。賢才^{けんさい} を挙げらひ。万民^{あげ} を子のごとくに思召時は。絶て久しき神道も。自然と起り
あらたまり。僞^{おごり} てみだるゝ仏道も。 自^{をのつから} 本の正法と成べし。故に外をたゞされずして。
君の御意^{こゝろ} と。近臣^{きん} の邪正^{じや} を糺し給へ。然ば神道と仏道と和合して。実^{まこと} の兩部の大道と
なるべし。其時は自然と王法もめでたく。天下も安全^{せん} にして。仏道も只今のごとく。悪
行^{なす} を為事有べからず。故にかやうの時世^{かんがへ} を 勘^{まつ} 知^{ちよく} て。末世^{らん} 濁^{さと} 乱^{らん} の乱相を悟りおはしま
せ⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, vol. 11 (comment on the *Heike*, Chapter 6:1 “The Death of Retired Emperor Takakura”).

Appendix C Commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*: An Overview⁶³⁶

1) *Heike uchigiki* 平家打聞: A twelve-volume commentary on the *Tale of the Heike*

(Shibugassenjō-bon variant), which is one of the oldest commentaries on the *Tale of the Heike*, if not the oldest one. The work is thought to date from 1323-1324, although extant manuscripts are from the early and mid-Edo period. Words and phrases from the text are explained in the format of A is B (A *wa*, B A者、B). Most comments are brief explanatory notes, but longer passages are also included with biographical details, medieval *setsuwa* legends, and evaluations. The text is written in Literary Sinitic (*kanbun*).

2) *Heike monogatari shō* 平家物語抄 (*Commentary on the Tale of the Heike*): A twelve-volume Edo-period commentary on the *rufubon* (popular version) printed text of the *Heike*, its creation and publication years are unknown. A wide range of references are made to Buddhist texts, Chinese historical and political texts, other variants of the *Tale of the Heike*, and earlier commentaries. A peculiar feature of this commentary is the inclusion of rather lengthy notes of moral criticism. These comments, similar to those found in *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, provide evidence for understanding *Tale of the Heike* reception during the early Edo period.

3) *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* 平家物語評判秘伝抄 (*Commentary with Evaluations and Secret Transmissions about the Tale of the Heike*): A twelve-volume critical commentary on the *rufubon* (popular version) printed text of the *Heike* by an unknown anonymous author published in 1650. “Evaluation” (*hyō* 評) comments mainly discuss people and events, strategy, and statecraft from Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto moral viewpoints. “Transmission” (*den* 伝) comments contain fictional anecdotes not found in the *Tale of the Heike*, some of which are

⁶³⁶ The list is based on the information from *Heike monogatari daijiten*, eds. Ōtsu Yūichi, Kusaka Tsutomu, Saeki Shin'ichi, Sakurai Yōko (Tōkyō Shoseki, 2010) and *Heike monogatari kenkyū jiten*, ed. Ichiko Teiji (Meiji Shoin, 1978).

based on *Azuma kagami* while others are of unclear origin. The commentary refers to many spurious sources many of which are not verifiable. The commentary has common content with *Heike monogatari shō* 平家物語抄 and may have influenced later *yomihon* and *jōruri* works.

The commentary clarifies in detail reception and study of the *Tale of the Heike* in the early Edo period.

4) *Heike monogatari hyōban karui* 平家物語評判瑕類 (*Collection of Flaws in the Evaluative Commentary on the Tale of the Heike*): A five-volume critical work on the *Tale of the Heike*, aiming to correct mistakes in the commentary *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*. It was written in the early eighteenth century by Itchiku-koji 逸竹居士 (?-?), and published in 1712.⁶³⁷

5) *Heike monogatari kōshō* 平家物語考証: A twelve-volume Edo-period commentary written before 1711 by court noble Nonomiya Sadamoto 野宮定基 (1669-1711) and his adopted son Nonomiya Sadatoshi 野宮定俊 (1701-1757). Its preface describes the aim of the work as an inquiry into facts, mistakes and falsehoods, past events and etiquette found in the *Tale of the Heike*, using materials in national histories, various family records, and other sources. The *Tale of the Heike* itself is treated as a record of facts of the Genpei conflict, which is not based on the accurate study of details. The narrative of the *Tale of the Heike* is praised for its refined literary qualities. The commentary focuses on the investigation of historical facts, and relies on other texts such as Kujō Kanezane's 九条兼実 (1149-1207) diary *Jade Leaves* (*Gyokuyō* 玉葉, 1164-1200) and *Azuma kagami*, family records, as well as some field investigations and data collection.

⁶³⁷ Biographical details of this author, also known as Itchikusai 逸竹斎 or Keichūrō 敬仲郎, are not available, but perhaps he was a warrior from the Tokushima domain in Shikoku. He also wrote the one-volume manuscript work the *Evaluative Commentary on the Miyoshi Military Chronicle* (*Miyoshi gunki hyōban* 三好軍記評判), about the rise and fall of the Miyoshi clan in the sixteenth century. It is a commentary on the three-volume historical text *Miyoshi gunki* 三好軍記, also known as *Miyoshi ki* 三好記, written by Fukunaga Gensei 福長玄清 and published in 1663. The commentary includes many critical comments on military strategy, showing that the author was well-versed in military studies. See Nishio-shi Iwase Bunko, Kotenseki shoshi dētabēsu, *Miyoshi gunki hyōban*. ADEAC: Digital Archive System, <https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11E0/WJJS06U/2321315100/2321315100100010/ht034230>.

This commentary shows that the *Tale of the Heike* was studied not only by warrior scholars, but also by court noble scholars who approached it as a historical work useful for exploring court history and past customs.⁶³⁸

6) *Heike monogatari shikai* 平家物語私解: A thirteen-volume Edo-period commentary written between 1770 and 1775 (edited in 1848). After discussing the Heike family background, the author of the *Tale of the Heike* and its overall content, the work provides commentary on the *Tale of the Heike*, section by section.

7) *Heike monogatari shūge* 平家物語集解: A twelve-volume commentary by an unknown author, probably created in the late Edo period. The notes briefly explain personal names, place names, temples and shrines, era names, etc. References are made to old dictionaries, texts on old practices and usages, Japanese classical works and commentaries, and Chinese and Buddhist texts. Other variants of the *Tale of the Heike* and works such as *Azuma kagami* are used for the investigation of historical facts. References are also made to another Edo-period commentary, *Heike monogatari kōshō* 平家物語考証.

8) *Heigi kidan* 平義器談: A two-volume commentary on words related to armour and weapons,

⁶³⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, military studies were also practiced by court noble families such as the Ōe in the Heian period. Transmitted throughout the medieval period, this scholarship was continued in the Edo period. For example, the *Kin'etsushū* and other texts became the basis for the school of the Minamoto family's old ways (*Genke kohō* 源家古法) in the early Edo period. This school was active throughout the Edo period in the Matsuyama domain in Shikoku, and its disciples were daimyo lords and warriors. However, a prominent role in the establishment of this school was played by court scholar and military studies scholar Tachibana Masatoyo 橘正豊 (late sixteenth and early seventeenth century), who compiled texts—by order of the high-level courtier, scholar, and former regent Konoe Sakihisa 近衛前久 (1536-1612), who allegedly gave him the texts—producing the work *Zoku Kin'etsushū* 続訓閑集 in eighty-five manuscript volumes. The text was meant to be offered to the Emperor, but after the death of Konoe Sakihisa, this idea was abandoned and Masatoyo retired to Higashiyama, transmitting the text to a member of the Ōe family in 1618. The text's content included yin-yang thought and divination, ancient Chinese military classics, and civil and martial topics of statecraft (such as the selection of generals, appointments, rewards and punishments, and laws). Interestingly, the Genpei conflict and the rise and fall of the Genji and Heike families were also examined. The volumes called the *Miscellaneous Records about the Genpei Conflict* (*Genpei zakki* 源平雑記) and *Complete Records about the Genpei Conflict* (*Genpei zenpen* 源平全篇) contain discussion of this topic with the analysis of battles. This topic needs further study, but it is clear that medieval and early modern nobles were also involved in military studies. See Ishioka Hisao, *Nihon heihōshi*, vol. 2, 327-328.

found in the *Tale of the Heike* and *Gikeiki*. Written in 1771 by the scholar Ise Sadatake 伊勢貞丈 (1718-1784), and published in 1802.

9) *Heike monogatari kō* 平家物語考: A one-volume Edo-period commentary by Ise Sadatake.

Explanations of eighty-one terms are provided; mainly words related to armour, dress, and other old practices and usages, in addition to other words and phrases difficult for understanding.

10) *Heike monogatari kō* 平家物語攷: A two-volume Edo-period commentary written in 1842 by the scholar Okamoto Yasutaka 岡本保孝 (1797-1878). It consists of explanatory notes for words and personal names that appear in the *Tale of the Heike*. In addition to citations from the earlier commentaries, *Heike monogatari shō* and *Heike monogatari kōshō*, the work contains Okamoto's own notes.

11) *Heike monogatari jinmeikō* 平家物語人名考: An Edo-period commentary on names appearing in the *Tale of the Heike*. It contains 1363 names.

12) *Heike monogatari bikō* 平家物語備考: A one-volume Edo-period commentary by Kurokawa Harumura 黒川春村 (1799-1866), a late Edo scholar of National Learning. It contains eighty-nine words and phrases from the first volume of the *Tale of the Heike*. Comments explain word meanings, sources, and historical facts. Many comments show examples of word use and cite many references.

13) *Heike monogatari hyōchū* 平家物語標註: A twenty-eight-volume late Edo period commentary by Taira Dōju 平道樹, written in the 1830s. The author was from the Heike clan (*heishi* 平氏) of Aki province, and is believed to have served as a bakufu doctor. In 1832, he copied the Engyōbon version of the *Tale of the Heike*. The commentary contains genealogical tables and notes on the *Tale of the Heike*, including comparisons with numerous variants. The

notes add Chinese characters and explanations of words focusing on people, past practices, and classical texts. Many comments are cited from earlier commentaries, especially *Heike monogatari kōshō*.

14) *Heike monogatari ruigo* 平家物語類語: A late-Edo commentary and word index by an unknown author. The work groups words and phrases from the *Tale of the Heike* by subject matter: heaven and earth, people, human affairs, armaments, and word index. The work was probably intended as a reference tool for written composition.

15) *Heike monogatari jinmei chimei shōroku* 平家物語人名地名鈔録: A thirteen-volume Edo-period commentary on personal and place names written in 1858 by Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峯 戊申 (1788-1859), a late Edo scholar of National Learning.